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Some Early Buddhist Kings of Ceylon

BY

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In the 6th century B.C. the king was recognised as the foremost of men (*rājamukhaṃ manussānaṃ*).¹ He was not only the head of the executive but also supreme administrator of justice and final court of appeal for criminal cases. The free supply of medicinal roots, fruits and herbs was an act of social piety on the part of a good king.² The happiness of his subjects depended on his good rule and their distress or misery on his misrule.³ In the happiness of his subjects lay his happiness and in their welfare his welfare.

The king could remit taxes and release prisoners, if necessary. The taxation was not heavy. The king and the royal priest were friends who played together the game at dice.⁴ Hunting of deer was a favourite pastime of many kings.⁵ The bathers were engaged by the kings to remove bodily impurities by baths.⁶ After king's death he was generally succeeded by uparājā or vice-regent appointed by him. The king's sister's son was also appointed.⁷ Ambassadors (*dūtas*) were appointed by the kings. The kings were taught things temporal and spiritual.⁸ Kings and princes were educated at the university of Takkasilā. A prince attained

1. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, VI, 35.8.

2. Woolner *Commémoration* Vol., p. 163.

3. *Jātaka*, V, 98; Cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Ch. XIX.

4. *Jātaka*, I, 280.

5. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 21 — The king was to learn the art of shooting at a running deer.

6. Cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* — The king's menial staff included bather (*śāpaka* or Pali *nahāpaka*).

7. *Jātaka*, I, 133; IV, 148; II, 323 ff.

8. *Ibid.*, III, 342, 400; IV, 197.

mastery in all the branches of education.⁹ A Magadhan prince learnt arts at Taxila.¹⁰ The king of Benares appointed his family priest as a judge knowing his wisdom and erudition.¹¹ After educating himself at Taxila a prince became the king after his father's death.¹²

The king had ten duties to perform. His duties consisted of giving alms, leading a moral course of life, sacrifice, truthfulness, mildness, self-denial, forgiveness, not causing any pain to anybody, patience, and a yeilding disposition. He used to erect buildings, parks, and groves for his subjects and also to construct monasteries, sanctuaries, temples, dagobas, and prayerhalls. The most important duty of a king was to maintain law and order in his kingdom and to give protection and personal safety to his subjects. It is distinctly laid down in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (Chap. XIX) that if a king is energetic, his subjects will be equally energetic. If he be reckless, his subjects will be reckless. A king must be ever wakeful. He shall personally attend to the business of gods, heretics, brahmins learned in the Vedas,¹³ minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless, and women. The religious vow of a king is his readiness to action, satisfactory discharge of duties and equal attention to all. Whatever pleases his subjects, he shall consider as good. The root of wealth is activity and of evil its reverse.

In the Buddhist age the teachings of the Buddha had great influence on kings. In times of war they were always ready to fight and even then did not forget to pay attention to the welfare of their subjects. They had fixed hours to perform their duties, some time was spent to look into the accounts of their states, some time was allotted for them to look to the affairs of their subjects. Some hours were fixed for their study and for attending to the appointment of superintendents, for correspondence with

9. *Ibid.*, IV, 105.

10. *Ibid.*, V, 161, 227.

11. *Ibid.*, VI, 131.

12. *Ibid.*, II, 400, 427.

13. Some hold that three *nāṇas* are meant. They are as follows: *pubbenivāsa*, *cetopariyāya* and *āsavaḥkhāya* (destruction of sins). The first one means the faculty possessed by an Elder of knowing all about his own and others' former states of existence. The second one is the knowledge of the nature of others' thoughts whether lustful or pure.

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their ministers, for receiving secret information gathered by their spies, for engaging themselves in their favourite amusements or self-deliberation and for considering various plans of military operations. They had absolute faith in God and at the close of the day they used to observe the evening prayer.

Parakkamabāhu II was the son of Vijayabāhu III. After his father's death Parakkamabāhu II ascended the throne and reigned for 33 years (1236-1268 A.C.). He united the whole of the people who were in Tisihala and beautified the fair town. He conferred the dignity of *Yuvarājā* on his younger brother named Bhuvanekabāhu and gave him a portion of his kingdom. To make Laṅkā his own he was determined to destroy his foes. He worshipped the tooth relic of the Buddha. He possessed miraculous power and was successful in subjugating the hostile kings.

Candabhānu, king of the Jāvakas¹⁴ came to Laṅkā with the Jāvaka army but all the wicked Jāvaka soldiers were defeated. The heroic soldiers of Sihala destroyed the foes. The mighty ruler Parakkamabāhu attained the fame of victory. He rendered immense services to the Buddhist Order. He sent many gifts to the Coḷa country and brought to Laṅkā many respected Coḷa monks who had moral discipline and were well-versed in the *Piṭakas* and established harmony between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The *Cūlavamsa* (LXXXIV. 11) eloquently speaks of the great qualities of a leading Coḷian thera named Dhammakitti (*Ta-mo-Kui-ti*) who came to Ceylon on an invitation from king Parakkamabāhu II to effect a thorough reform of the *Samgha*.¹⁵

The king celebrated every seven days the great festival of eight requisites¹⁶ of a Buddhist priest. He did many pious works.

14. Javanese according to Malalasekera (*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, p. 150.)

15. The consensus of opinion is in favour of regarding him as the monk who wrote the account in the *Mahāvamsa* from the reign of Mahānāma to that of Parakkamabāhu II (*JRAS.*, 1896, 202 ff.).

16. The bowl, the three robes, the girdle, a razor, a niddle and a water strainer. The eight attainments comprise the four *jhanas*: realm of the infinity of space, realm of the infinity of consciousness, realm of nothingness, realm of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness. E. Hardy says that the eight *samāpattis* are the eight modes of abstract meditation. There are eight attainments or endowments which are eight successive states induced by the ecstatic meditation (*Childers, Pali Dictionary*, p. 428).

He built a *vihāra* in his birth-place named Sirivaḍḍhana. He had the wide road from Jambuddoṇi to the town of Sirivaḍḍhana levelled.¹⁷ The tooth relic and bowl relic were worshipped by the people. The king erected a *pariveṇa*¹⁸ named after him, decorated with lofty palaces and gave many useful objects to it. His *yuvarājā* (prince or viceroy) was made to erect the *pariveṇa* called Bhuvanekabāhu in the Bhillasela *vihāra*. In the town called Sirivaḍḍhana a great sacrificial festival was celebrated. The king had faith in the Buddha and acquired much merit by his good deeds. Laṅkā was much oppressed by the influence of evil planets. A great heat arose in Laṅkā and the crops were burnt. A famine was inevitable.

The king gave orders for a splendid festival to be held for three sacred objects. He gathered together the great community of monks and caused them to recite *Paritta*¹⁹ and bear the tooth relic of the Buddha round the town in a fitting manner. The result was that this meritorious deed drove away the famine, beautified the town and revived the corn. The great heat was dispelled. Thus the king protected the Order and the laity. Pulatthinagara, the best of all towns in Laṅkā which was the ancient royal seat of Ceylon kings, was restored with high walls, gate-towers, etc. as it was of yore.²⁰

Sirivijayarājasīha (1739-47 A.C.)—After Narindasiha's death the younger brother of the Chief queen of Narindasiha was crowned king. He was known as Sirivijayarājasīha who was earnest and skilful. He engaged himself in listening to the true norm of the Buddha. He brought princesses from the town of Madhurā and made them his chief queens just to keep up the continuity of his family. He won over the people of Laṅkā by his good qualities and took up his abode in the beautiful town of Sirivaḍḍhana. The chief queens listened to the true doctrine of the Buddha. They worshipped the tooth-relic. They kept the

17. *Cūḷavamsa*, Ch. 85. v. 4.

18. It means a cell or a hut forming a monk's private chamber in a monastery (Childers' *Pali Dictionary*). Geiger says that it denotes a building intended for the instructions of the monks (*Cūḷavamsa* Tr. I, p. 4, f.n.)

19. Protection, safeguard, protective charm, *Vinaya*, II, 110; IV, 305 (Personal protection).

20. *Cūḷavamsā*, PTS., pp. 458-492.

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five moral precepts and the *uposatha* vows.²¹ The king erected dwelling places for the novice nuns. He arranged a great festival and made a sacrifice to the relic. He who was very pious and rich in virtue, found great delight in causing the images of the Buddha to be made in *Ālokalēṇa* and other monasteries in the province of *Mātula* as well as in the rock temples of the various other provinces. In the town of *Sirivaḍḍhana* the king did away with the decayed royal palaces and other buildings. In place of these he built excellent new houses. The sermon halls were erected in many places, which were big enough to accommodate a large number of people. He sent numerous preachers to preach the Buddha's doctrine to many places. He grew angry when he heard of the infidels and the impious ones still dwelling here and there. He at once issued orders to his ministers to destroy their houses, burn their books, and banish them from the country. The king celebrated a sacrifice on the *Sumanakūṭa*²² where there was the Buddha's footprint. In *Anurādhapura* at *Mahiyaṅgaṇa*²³ and other places he also celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He was under the impression that the Order of the Buddha was declining but he was delighted to have the welcome news afterwards that the Order still existed in many countries e.g., *Pegu*, *Sāmina* (*Siam*). To test the condition of the Order in various countries, he sent dignitaries to whom he gave letters, gifts, and sacrificial implements. He worked for his own and others' salvation by performing many meritorious deeds. He was always after the welfare of others and was always eager to purify the splendid Order of the Buddha.²⁴

Sūratissa (187-177 B.C.), who was the younger brother of *Mahāsiva*, ruled *Laṅkā* for ten years and did many meritorious deeds. He built 500 *vihāras*.²⁵ He was known as *Suvaṇṇapiṇḍatissa* before his reign and he was named *Sūratissa* from the begin-

21. To take upon themselves the *uposatha* vows is to go to a priest and make him the witness of their intention to observe the eight *śīlas* during the day (Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 236).

22. It is the Adam's Peak according to Geiger (*Mahāvamsa* Tr. p. 5 fn.1).

23. For its account vide *Thūpavamsa* (PTS), Ed. B. C. Law, Ch. V.

24. *Cūlavamsa*, pp. 544-51.

25. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. 18, v. 46.

ning of his reign. Sena and Guttaka, who were *Damīlas*, conquered *Sūratissa*.²⁶

Saddhātissa or *Tissa* of the Faith (77-59 B.C.) was the younger brother and successor of *Duṭṭhagāmaṇī*. He was crowned king after him for eighteen years. He finished the work on the parasol, plaster work and the elephant wall (*hatthipākāra*)²⁷ of the Great *Thupa* (*Mahāthūpa*).²⁸ He constructed a quadrangular lake for sometime in the *Mahāthūpa*, which is one of the finest specimens of the architectural landmark of Ceylon.²⁹ He rebuilt the *Lohapāsāda* (Brazen Palace) after it was burnt. It was a beautiful palace, seven-storied, and covered with iron brick.³⁰ He built many *vihāras* and founded the *Dīghavāpivihāra* together with the shrine. He did many works of merit.³¹

The son of *Saddhātissa* was *Lañjatissa* also known as *Lajjitissa* (cir. 59-50 B.C.) who ruled the island for 9 years and 6 months.³² He built *Tilañcana* in the most excellent *Mahāthūpa*, which stands as an imposing and beautiful mound. He built the beautiful *Kumbhilādi* monastery. He also built the *Dīghathūpa* with *Thūpārāma* standing in front of it. He made a stone casing in the most excellent *Thūpārāma*. After his death his younger brother named *Khallāṭanāga* (50-43 B.C.) ruled the island.³³ He was the son of *Saddhātissa*. He constructed *Kurundarāsoka vihāra*. He was killed by the general *Mahārattaka*. *Anulā* was his wife and *Mahācūlika* was his son.³⁴

Kūṭakannatissa (16-38 A.C.) was the second son of king *Mahācūlika*. He fled as he was afraid of *Anulā*. He raised an army and killed the wicked *Anulā*. He himself reigned for 22 years. He built a great mansion for the *Uposatha* festival on the

26. *Mahāvamsa*, XXI.

27. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 284. It is elephant wall. For details vide S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, pp. 66, 70.

28. Vide S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, pp. 32, 34, 66.

29. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. 20, v. 6.

30. *Ibid.*, Ch. 20, v. 4.

31. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXIII.

32. 9 years and 15 days (*CHI.*, I, p. 610).

33. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. 20, vs. 9-12.

34. *Mahāvamsa*, XXXIII, 29 ff.; *Dīpav.* 20, 12 ff.

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Cetiya mountain³⁵ and erected a beautiful stone dagoba in front of this mansion. He planted a Bo-tree on the Cetiya mountain. He had a great canal dug called Vaṇṇaka.³⁶ He built the bathroom for the nuns. He built a wall round the Padumassara garden.³⁷

Bhātikatissaka (203-227 A.C.) was the son of Mahallanāga who ruled Laṅkā for 24 years.³⁸ He built a wall round the Mahāvihāra. He had a tank dug and gave it to the Gabaratissavihāra. He built the Bhātikatissavihāra and an *upōsatha* hall in the beautiful Thūpārāma. The king gave plenty of alms to the Brotherhood.³⁹

Goṭṭābhaya or Goṭhakābhaya (302-315 A.C.) ruled Laṅka for 13 years. He was the brother of Vijaya.⁴⁰ He was also known as Meghavaṇṇābhaya. He built a palace and a pavilion in which he daily invited many monks and gave them rice-gruels with excellent food, hard and soft. In the Mahāvihāra he built a pavilion of stone and renewed the pillars of the Lohapāsāda which was built by Devānaṃpiyatissa. He set up a raised platform of stone for the great Bo-tree and an arched gateway. To the west of the Mahāvihāra he laid out a plot of land for meditation. He founded a new monastery called Meghavaṇṇābhaya. He held a great Vesākha festival and every year he distributed six garments to the Brotherhood. He purified the doctrine and banished the heretics from Laṅka.⁴¹ He was a stern upholder of religion (*Nilkāya-sangrahava*, p. xxviii).

Mahāsena (334-361 A.C.) was the younger brother of king Jetṭhatissa. He ruled Laṅkā as king for 27 years. The monks living in the Mahāvihāra abandoned it and went to Malaya and Rohaṇa. The Mahāvihāra remained desolate for nine years and it was empty of monks. Meghavaṇṇābhaya, who was the minister, was a friend of the king. He became a rebel. The king knowing

35. *Dīpavaṃsa*, (B. C. Law Ed.), Ch. 20. v. 32.

36. *Mahāv.*, XXXIV, v. 33.

37. *Dīpav.*, Ch. 20. vs. 33-35.

38. *Ibid.*, Ch. 22. v. 30.

39. *Mahāvāṃsa*, Ch. XXXVI.

40. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, IV, p. 223.

41. *Mahāvāṃsa*, Ch. XXXVI. vs. 98 ff.

his own fault from his friend, asked him to forgive and forget what he had done. Meghavanṇābhaya built several *pariveṇas* in the *Mahāvihāra* which was again inhabited by the monks. The king made two bronze images and set them up on the west side of the temple of the great Bodhi tree. The king also built Maṇihīra *vihāra*.⁴² He built many monasteries, one of which was Thupā-rāma \bar{v} ihāra and two nunneries. He distributed alms for the Elders. He accumulated much merit.⁴³ He built the great canal called Pabhatanta on the Gaṅgā.⁴⁴

Kittisirirājasīha (1767-1782 A.C.), who was the brother of Vijayarājasīha's chief queen, became the king of Laṅkā. He was graceful and beautiful in appearance. He made the people of Laṅkā joyful. He had faith in the three gems: *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Saṅgha*. He had the whole town of Sirivaḍḍhana cleaned and decorated. He ruled Laṅkā gloriously. He gave up evil friends and enjoyed the company of the learned. He distinguished between what should be done and what should not be done. He had the pavilions erected in many places for sermons. He appointed preachers to preach many discourses (*suttantas*). He showed respects to many monks and novices and favoured them with offerings of robes and other necessities. He had the *Paritta* recited by the monks. He engaged scribes to make a copy of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, *Samyutta Nikāya*, and many other texts. He visited the Mahiyaṅga Cetiya⁴⁵ and he honoured the Rajatavihāra. The king was full of faith, wisdom, and other virtues. He made costly sacrificial gifts to the Tooth-relic. He increased the happiness of the people dwelling at Laṅkā. He performed the duties of a king. He gave alms to the monks daily. He protected well the Buddhist order. He had the monasteries cleaned and asked the monks to live in them. The pride of the wicked infidels was destroyed. He beautified the whole of Laṅkā. He was mindful of the welfare of the community of monks and daily gave food to the sick. The king honoured the Tooth-Relic of the Buddha.⁴⁶

42. Geiger says that it is now Minneriya, the name of a tank not far from Polonnaruwa (*Mahāvamsa* Tr., p. 270 f.n.).

43. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXVII.; *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. 22. vs. 66 ff.

44. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXVII. v. 50.

45. Vide Tennent, *Ceylon*, ii, 420-21.

46. Vide *Dāthāvamsa*, Ed. B. C. Law, 1925.

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He was mindful of the purity of the Buddhist Order. In the fine *Upasatha* house the great Elder Upāli was invited. The large and beautiful *vihāra* known as Gaṅgārāma was built by the king on a fine spot near the Mahāvālukagaṅgā. It was known as *Rājamahāvihāra*. For the restoration of the Majjhapalli *vihāra* the king conferred distinction on the monk named Saṅgharakkhita.⁴⁷ After the death of Kittisirirājasīha, his younger brother named Sirirājādhirājasīha was crowned king of Laṅkā. He had faith in the three gems and offered alms to the community of monks. The monks headed by the thera (Elder) Upāli came from Siam. They visited the town of Sirivaḍḍhana. The king was acquainted with many literary works in Pali and Sanskrit. He made a poem in the language of Ceylon out of *Asadisajātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 181). Full of faith he revered the Tooth Relic. He erected the monastery called the Gaṅgārāma which was very holy, having a graceful *cetiya* well-worth seeing.⁴⁸

Vijayabāhu II (1186-87 A.C.) became monarch of Laṅkā. He released those dwellers of Laṅkā who were thrown into prison and who were tortured. He made the Order of the Buddha lustrous. He composed in the Māgadhī language a letter and sent it to Ari-maddana of Rāmañña (Lower Burma, Pegu).

The king did not depart from any precept of the political teaching of Manu. He was endowed with kindness, purity and other virtues and he found the highest satisfaction in the three gems. He gave up the four wrongful paths and practised in the exercise of justice. He was respected by the laity and the order, performed many meritorious deeds and carried on the government for one year. A traitor named Mahinda of Kalinga had a cowherd's daughter as his wife. He treacherously slew the king and ruled Laṅkā for five days.

After his murder the viceroy of king Vijayabāhu II, born in Kalinga, named Kittinissanka (1187-96 A.C.), became king. After his coronation he built a beautiful temple of stone for the Tooth Relic in Pulatthinagara.⁴⁹ He had the lofty Ratanāvali *cetiya*

47. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 100.

48. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 101.

49. It was the capital of Rājavattha. For many years it was under the control of the Coḍas. It reached the zenith of its prosperity during the

made firm. He placed seventy-three golden statutes of the Master in the Jambukola monastery. The king then went to the Samantakūṭa and performed there his devotions. Everywhere on the island of Tambapaṇṇi he had flower gardens and fruit gardens laid down. He built many houses for the community of monks. The king accumulated merit and carried on the government for nine years in the most excellent way. His son Virabāhu became the king only for one night and he fell a victim to death.

Vikkamabāhu was the younger brother of the king Kittinisāṅka, who enjoyed the royal dignity for three months in 1196 A.C. He was slain by the ruler Coḍagaṅga, a sister's son of king Nissāṅka who carried on the government for nine months. A powerful general Kittī deposed him and had the government carried on for three years by Līlāvatī, the first chief queen of the king Parakkanta.⁵⁰ She was the daughter of Srivallabha and Sugala.

Vijayabāhu (1059-1114 A.C.) was the king of Ceylon. He was crowned king under the title Sirisaṅghabodhi. He married a Kalinga princess named Tilokasundarī, by whom he had five daughters and one son. He restored many hermitages in various parts of Laṅkā and repaired many tanks.⁵¹

A matrimonial connection was established by king Vijayabāhu I (cir. 1054-1109 A.D.)⁵² of Ceylon, through his marriage with Tilokasundarī, a beautiful and accomplished princess belonging to the royal family of Kalinga.⁵³ Tilokasundarī, the second queen of king Vijayabāhu I⁵⁴ is no other than Trailokyasundarī of the Belāva plate. The Belāva plate mentions her as the daughter of

reign of Parakkamabāhu I. It gradually lost its importance, though kings Parakkamabāhu II, Vijayabāhu IV and Parakkamabāhu III tried their best to bring back its lost greatness.

50. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 80.

51. *Ibid.*, Ch. lviii-lx.

52. 1059-1114 A.D. according to Geiger.

53. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 59. 29-30:

*Kaliṅgadharanīpālavamsajaṃ cārudassanaṃ Tilokasundarīm nāma
sukumāraṃ kumārikam/*

*Kalingaratthatorāḷā ānāpetvā ciraṭṭhitim nijavamsassa icchanto
mahesitte. 'bhisecayi//*

54. *Cūlavamsa*, p. 181.

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king Sāmaḷavarman through his wife Mālavadevī. It is evident from the Maṇimaṅgala inscription dated 1053 A.D. that the then Coḷa kings were bringing heavy pressure to bear upon the kings of Ceylon. The Coḷa king Parakeśarivarman *alias* Rājendradeva imprisoned two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharaṇa. It is disputed whether this Mānābharaṇa mentioned in the *Cūḷavamsa* (Ch. 59, vs. 42, 44) as one of the nephews of Vijayabāhu I was identical with Mānābharaṇa of the Inscription.⁵⁵

Vijayabāhu and his successors felt proud of their connection with the royal family of Siṃhapura.⁵⁶

Jeṭṭhatissa II was the brother of Sirimeghavaṇṇa.⁵⁷ He was experienced in the art of ivory carving. He was very skilful. He carried out many difficult works and taught many people his art of ivory carving. At the request of his father he made a beautiful and charming figure representing the *Bodhisatta* and a state-chair with a back, an umbrella, a pavilion bedecked with jewels. Everywhere in Ceylon there were all kinds of work in ivory. He ruled Laṅkā for nine years and did many meritorious works. His son Buddhādāsa became king otherwise known as Bujasrājā according to the Sinhalese sources. He created happiness by every means for the people of Laṅkā and protected the town. He was endowed with ten qualities⁵⁸ of kings. He had full sympathy for all beings. He fulfilled the wishes of his subjects. He used to protect the property of the rich. He treated the good people like a friend, the wicked with sternness and the sick with remedies. He cured a monk. He saved a *caṇḍāla* woman. For the good of the inhabitants of Laṅkā the king built refuges for the sick set up in every village and placed them in charge of physicians. He appointed physicians for elephants, horses and soldiers. For the crippled and the blind he built refuges in various places and for the travellers too he built rest houses with food. He listened to the doctrine of the Buddha and showed respects to the preachers. He fixed

55. Vide K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, 302.

56. *E.I.*, XII, p. 4.

57. Some say that he was the youngest son of his brother.

58. Ten *rājadhammas* are as follows: *dāna* (charity), *sīla* (morality), *pariccāga* (sacrifice), *ajjava* (fair dealing), *maddava* (gentleness), *tapas* (austerity), *akkodha* (freedom from anger), *avihiṃsā* (not wounding), *khanti* (patience), *avirodhana* (freedom from enmity).

the salaries of the preachers in different places. He sympathised with a leper, took him to his house and fed him sumptuously. Gradually the leper put faith in the monarch and he was very much distressed when he heard of the monarch's death. King Buddhadāsa healed diseases and he appointed physicians to cure the sick in the island. In the *Mahāvihāra* the king had the *Morapariveṇa* built. He built *vihāras* and *pariveṇas*, tanks and alms halls. In the reign of this king Mahādhammakathin translated the *suttas* into the Sihala language. The king shone like the perfectly enlightened one. Buddhadāsa died after a reign of 29 years.

Buddhadāsa's eldest son was Upatissa who became king after his father's death. He ruled Laṅkā for 42 years (362-409 A.C.). He was virtuous and he led a moral life and was great in pity. He shunned sinful actions; he practised meritorious deeds; he fulfilled royal duties and the ten perfections (*pāramitās*).⁵⁹ He built alms-halls and nursing shelters. He erected a dagoba, an image house (*paṭimāgeha*) and an image. He had many tanks built. In the reign of Upatissa the island was disturbed by a famine and a plague. He was a benevolent king and he took upon himself the duties of a moral life and made the people to perform their duties. He established security of life for all living beings. He adorned the town. He built a house for the Uposatha festival. He instituted a great festival for all the shrines in the island of Laṅkā. The queen consort of this king had an intrigue with his younger brother, Mahānāma. He murdered him by stabbing him in a lonely spot.⁶⁰

59. The term *pāramī* or *pāramitā* is employed as a young of *Buddha-karādharmā* or the virtues or qualities that tend towards making a Buddha, i.e., maturing the life of a *Bodhisatta* for the attainment of Buddhahood in his last birth. The ten perfections or perfectionary virtues are practised in three degrees of intensity. The Mahayana Buddhist texts are replete with information regarding the fulfilment of *pāramitās* by the *Bodhisatta*. Cf. *Jātakamālā*; *Mahāvastu* (*Vānara Jāt.*, *Mahagovindacarīyam*) and *Avadana-lalpalatā* (*Sivi, Sasa, Matsya, Vattapotaka, Ruou and Sutasoma*). Really speaking the *pāramita* doctrine had its root in the age-old Indian conception of faith (*saddhā*) particularly as developed in a *sutta* of the *Majjhima* (vide Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 20 and 66; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, 2nd Ed. Ch. V, Law, *Cariyāpitaka*, Ed. pp. 11 ff.).

60. *Cūlavamsa*, I, 37, 179 ff.

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Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya or Gāmaṇi Abhaya was the king of Ceylon (101-77 B.C.). He was the son of Kākavaṇṇatissa. He was refused permission by his father to fight with the Dāmiḷas⁶¹ and fled in anger to the hills. After the death of his father he fought against his brother Tissa for the throne. He marched against the Damiḷa King Eḷāra. He began to capture fortresses. Vijitapura fell after a siege of four months.

Devānampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.) was the king of Ceylon. He assumed his surname *Devanāmpiya*. He constructed the Mahāmeghavana. He was the contemporary of Aśoka. He and Aśoka were in friendly terms. After the death of Devānampiyatissa Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition. He died after a pious reign of 40 years about 207 B.C. Aśoka's son Mahinda went to Ceylon and spread Buddhism there. Aśoka paid homage to the Bodhi tree and held a festival every year in its honour in the month of Kattika (Kārtika).⁶²

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was the founder of the *Abhayagirivihāra*⁶³ in the north of Anurādhapura.⁶⁴ It was at the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi that the *Tripitaka* and the *aṭṭhakathā* (commentary), orally handed down in former times, were written in books.⁶⁵ Among the kings of Ceylon incidentally mentioned by the celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa,⁶⁶ who flourished in the 5th century A.D., Muṭasiva, Devānampiyatissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya⁶⁷ and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi reigned in pre-Christian times. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was the greatest of the kings who followed Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

Kassapa was a wicked ruler of Laṅkā. He killed his father and became the king of Ceylon as Kassapa I (478-96 A.C.). He was unable to slay his brother. He fled to Sihagiri. He collected

61. The repeated incursions of the Damiḷas or Tamils or Dravidians, particularly those from the Coḷa country, were made with the object of plundering, destroying life and property and desecrating shrines. They also aimed at the permanent or temporary occupation of the island of Ceylon (Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 22; Law, *Geographical Essays*, pp. 76 ff.).

62. *Mahāvamsa*, XVII, v. 17.

63. *Ibid.*, XXXIII.

64. *Nikāya Sangraha*, Ed. Wickramasinghe, p. 11.

65. *Dīpavaṃsa*, XX, 20-21; *Mahāvamsa*, XXXIII, 100-101 — *Pothakesu likhāpayum*.

66. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 491 ff.

67. *Atthasālinī*, PTS., p. 80.

treasures and kept them well protected. He built a fine palace and dwelt there like the god of wealth. He performed many meritorious works. He planted gardens near the gates of the city and mango-groves on the island. He restored the Issarasamaṇārāma, bought villages for its support and granted them to it. He had two daughters named Bodhi and Uppalavaṇṇā. The young monks of the Thera School were unwilling to accept the monastery because it was the work of a parricide. As the king wished to give it to them, he presented it to the image of the exalted Buddha. The monks then accepted it. In the same way he built a monastery and granted it to the Dhammarucis. He kept the *uposatha* festival and cultivated certain virtues which the believing Buddhist practises and which regulate his relations with the outside world. He took upon himself the pious duties. He had books copied, made images and built alms halls. He always lived in fear of the other world and of Moggallāna. There was a fight between Kassapa and Moggallāna. Kassapa was trying to seek another road on his elephant. When his troops saw that their commander was flying, they broke up in disorder. The king Kassapa put an end to his life by cutting his throat.⁶⁸

Moggallāna came to Laṅkā and took the whole of the royal treasure. He came to the Mahāmeghavana. He approached the community of monks and greeted it respectfully. As a mark of distinction he presented it with his umbrella, which was the symbol of the ruler. He protected the world in justice. He heard the sermon about the pious doctrine with the result that he became peaceful in spirit and well-minded. He instituted a great almsgiving. He gave to the adherents of Dhammaruci and Sāgalī schools two monasteries named Daḷha and Dāṭhakondañña. He gave to the nuns of the Sāgalika school a shelter which he built. He accepted the Hair relic and preserved it in a crystal casket. He made provisions for the relic. He purified the doctrine of the Buddha. He died after a reign of 18 years, and after having performed many meritorious works.⁶⁹

After his death his son named Kumāradhātusena (513-522 A.C.) became king. He carried out repairs to the *vihāra* built by

68. *Cūlavamsa*, XXXVIII, 80 ff.; XXXIX, 1 ff.

69. *Ibid.*, Chap. 39.

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his father. He made a revision of the sacred texts and reformed the Order. He gave to the great community of monks the four necessities. He passed away in the 9th year of his reign.

His son Kittisena became king. He reigned for nine months. He performed in many ways works of merit. He was forced to quit the throne. His mother's brother Siva killed him and became king who was slain by Upatissa.⁷⁰

Aggabodhi I (568-601 A.D.) was the sister's son of king Mahānāga. He was impartial, upright and courageous. He gave positions to the most distinguished officers according to their merits. He built a *parivena* for Mahāsiva. During his reign poets composed numerous poems in the Sinhalese language. He built an excellent palace in the Dakkhinavihāra. He built the Ambilapassava-vihāra and granted the village of this name to the ascetics of the Thera school. For the merit of king Mahānāga king Aggabodhi built a monastery and gave it to the great Elder who was versed in three *pitakas*. In the Abhayagiri *vihāra* he built a large bathing tank. Thera Jotipāla defeated in controversy the adherents of the Vetulla school on the island. He was given a dwelling in a *vihāra* (monastery) by king Aggabodhi who built Nilageha cell. He did many meritorious works and died in the 34th year of his reign.

Aggabodhi II (601-611 A.D.) became king who was versed in old customs. He protected the island and made Saṅghabhaddā his chief queen. The king built the Veluvana *vihāra* which was made over to the adherents of the Sāgali school. The prince of Kalinga felt much trouble at the sight of the living beings dying in a war, came to Laṅkā and underwent the ceremony of world renunciation under Jotipāla. The prince's minister and chief queen also underwent world renunciation. King Aggabodhi II housed the Relic of the right collar-bone carefully in an inner room of the Lohapāsāda and honoured it day and night. In the Jetavana the king erected a building and had a well dug near the Bodhi tree. He enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall. For the nuns the chief queen ordered permanent gifts of rice. Aggabodhi II died after a reign of ten years.⁷¹

70. *Cūlavamsa*, xli, 4.

71. *Ibid.*, Ch. 42.

Hatthadāṭha who won over the party of the Damiḷas took the name of Dāṭhopatissa (650-658 A.C.)⁷² He gave honourable posts to his supporters according to merit. In the Mahāpāli Hall he distributed clothings, rice, milk and milk-rice. He kept the *uposatha* day and listened to the sermon. He gave the village of Mahāgalla to the practising house. The monks of the Thera school were bitter against the king, and took him to be an unbeliever and refused to accept alms from him. An agreement was made that a monk while on his mendicant's round carrying almsbowl must turn it down at the gate of his house. The king Dāṭhopatissa fell a victim to an incurable disease and died.⁷³

Uttiya (cir 207-197 B.C.) was the younger brother of Devānampiyatissa. He was one of the eleven children of Kaccānā, daughter of Paṇḍusakka.⁷⁴ He possessed supernatural faculties and great miraculous powers. He came out of Aśoka monastery and moved about with his group. He went to Vedissagiri and dwelt in the Vedissagiri monastery as long as he liked.⁷⁵ The elder Uttiya along with others made Tambapaṇṇi full of faith. He established himself on the top of the Missaka mountain.⁷⁶ Uttiya, son of Muṭasiva, ruled for ten years.⁷⁷ He built the most excellent pinnacled building (hall) and worshipped the illuminator of the island.⁷⁸

Paṇḍuvāsudeva was Vijaya's successor. He was the youngest son of Vijaya's brother Sumitta. He married Bhaddakaccānā, daughter of Śākya Paṇḍu who bore to him ten sons and one daughter named Cittā. He died after a reign of 30 years and was followed by his eldest son Abhaya who reigned for 20 years (414-394 B.C.)⁷⁹ in Upatissagāma. He was deposed. Paṇḍukābhaya (377-307 B.C.) was Abhaya's successor. He was the grand-

72. Dr. Mendis says that Dāṭhopatissa reigned from 626 to 641. (*The Mahāvamsa Addendum*, p. 6).

73. *Cūḷavaṃsa*, Chs. 44-47.

74. *Dīpavaṃsa*, (Ed. B. C. Law), Ch. 10, vs. 1-3.

75. *Ibid.*, Ch. 12, vs. 12-14.

76. *Ibid.*, Ch. 12, vs. 38-39.

77. *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 57; *Dīpavaṃsa*, xii, 75.

78. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. 17, vs. 93, 97.

79. Some hold date as 444-414 B.C.

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father of Devānaṃpiyatissa. He was an illegitimate son of Cittā by her cousin, Dīghagāmaṇī. He was known as Paṇḍuvāsa and Paṇḍuka.⁸⁰ He built monasteries for the *nigaṇṭhas* (Jains) and dwellings for the *ājīvakas*.⁸¹ He built the city of Anurādhapura. He fixed the boundaries of villages in all parts of Laṅkā. A reign of seventy years is ascribed to him.

Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya, son of Mahādāṭhika, was the king of Ceylon. He was killed by his younger brother. He raised the cone of the Mahāthūpa and made additions to the Lohapāsāda and the Thupārāma. He built a monastery and the Mahāgāmaṇḍi tank to the south of Anurādhapura. He issued orders not to slaughter animals in Ceylon. He gave robes to the whole brotherhood of monks in the island of Ceylon. He also gave alms bowls filled with Kumbhaṇḍaka⁸² fruits and he was since then known as Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī.⁸³ Sena, also known as Sīlāmegha,⁸⁴ was the king of Ceylon. During his reign the Paṇḍu king invaded Ceylon and Sena had to leave his throne. He afterwards made a treaty with the Paṇḍu king and got back his throne. His good deeds consisted of the construction of a monastery and a tall mansion in Jetavana. Pulatthinagara was his capital.⁸⁵

Mahānāga, a brother of Devānaṃpiyatissa, resided at Mahāgāma.⁸⁶ He was noted for his magnificent gifts in connection with the art of healing at Penambarigana. He may be identified either with Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga or with Mahallanāga (196-202 A.D.). He was banished from the court on account of some offence. He founded an independent dynasty which was not overcome by the Daniḷas.

Dhātuṣeṇa was the orthodox king of Ceylon (468-78 A.C.). He was the son of Dāṭhānāma. He belonged to the family of the

80. *Dīpavaṃsa*, X, 2 & 9.

81. *Mahāvaṃsa*, X, vs. 97-101; X, v. 102.

82. It is called Gourd, pumpkin gourd. It is called in Latin *Cucurbita Pepo*, Roxb; *cucurbita maxima*, Duchesne. These are different kinds of gourd, which were found in the Mucalinda lake (Cf. *Jātaka*, I, p. 411).

83. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXV, 1-10; *Mahav. Comm.*, PTS., p. 640.

84. *Cūlavāṃsa*, 4.3.

85. *Ibid.*, I, 1 ff.

86. Magama north-east of Hambantota (*CHI.*, I, p. 609 f.n.).

Moriyas. He performed ceremonies in honour of images and shrines. His work was the construction of the Kālavāpi. He built 18 monasteries and tanks. He showed great favour to the monks and did many acts of charity.⁸⁷ It was he who ordered the recital of the *Dīpavaṃsa* at the annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda in the 5th century A.D.⁸⁸

87. *Cūlavāṃsa* (PTS), XXXVIII, 14 ff.; 30 ff.

88. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ed. Oldenberg, Intro., pp. 8-9.

Catur-Dvīpa and Sapta-Dvīpa Vasumatī

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The dominant cosmographical conception of the Purāṇas is that of the *Sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī*, i.e., the earth consisting of seven concentric island-continents. Although there is some difference in the reading of the names and their order in the list, the earlier and authoritative Purāṇas offer the following names of the islands:

1. Jambu having Mount Meru or Sumeru at the centre and surrounded by the ocean of Lavaṇa (salt);
2. Plakṣa surrounding the Lavaṇa Ocean and surrounded by the ocean of Ikṣu (sugarcane juice);
3. Śālmali surrounding the Ikṣu Ocean and surrounded by the ocean of Surā (wine);
4. Kuśa surrounding the Surā Ocean and surrounded by the ocean of Sarpis (clarified butter);
5. Krauñca surrounding the Sarpis Ocean and surrounded by the ocean of Dadhi (curds);
6. Śāka surrounding the Dadhi Ocean and surrounded by the ocean of Dugdha (milk); and
7. Puṣkara surrounding the Dugdha Ocean and surrounded by the ocean of Jala (water).¹

The earliest reference to the *Sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī* conception seems to be found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali who flourished at the court of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (c. 187-151 B.C.), though the work as we have it today seems to contain some later interpolations.²

1. *Jambu-Plakṣ-āhvayau dvīpau Śālmaliś=c=āparo mahān/
Kuśaḥ Krauñcas=tathā Śākaḥ Puṣkaraś=c=aiva saptamaḥ//
Ete dvīpāḥ samudrais=tu sapta saptabhir=āvṛtāḥ/
Lavaṇ-Ekṣu-Surā-Sarpir-Dadhi-Dugdha-Jalaiḥ samam//*
(cf. *Agni Purāṇa*, 108. 1-3)
2. Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 9; cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XV, pp. 633 ff;

Some of the earlier Purāṇas confuse the seven-island conception of the earth with another conception of the earth consisting of four island-continent. Thus, in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, we have the following passages:

1. XXXIII. 4—*prthivī sarvā sapta-dvīpa-samanvitā*;
2. XXXIII. 24—*sapta-dvīpa-nivāsibhiḥ*;
3. XXXIII. 31—*sapta-dvīpe tu vakṣyāmi*;
4. XXXIV. 7—*sapta-dvīpāṃ tu vakṣyāmi*;
5. XXXIV. 46—*mahā-dvīpās=tu vikhyātās=catvāraḥ*;
6. XXXIV. 55-56—*catvāro yasya vai deśāḥ*;
7. XLI. 83—*catur-mahādvīpavatī s=eyam=urvī*;
8. XLI. 85—*catvāro n-aika-varṇ-ādhyā mahā-dvīpāḥ*;
9. XLI. 86—*catur-mahādvīpā nānā-dvīpa=samā-kulā*

prthivī.

According to this *Catur-dvīpā Vasumatī* conception, the earth was shaped like a lotus having Mt. Meru or Sumeru as its *karnikā* (pericarp)³ and the four island-continent as its four petals. These four *dvīpa*-petals of the earth-lotus on the four sides of Mt. Meru are the following:

1. Kuru or Uttara-Kuru in the north;
2. Jambu or Bhārata in the south;
3. Bhadrāśva in the east, and
4. Ketumāla in the west.⁴

Of these four-continent and seven-continent theories, the first may be regarded as earlier on the following grounds. In the first

3. In connection with Mt. Meru, mention is made of four *Viṣkamābhā-parvatas* or supporting ranges, viz., Mandara in the east Gandhamādana in south, Vipula in the west and Supārśva in the north, which have respectively the following lakes on them—Arunoda, Mānasa, Sitoda or Śitoda and Bhadrā. See *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 113; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Chapters 35-36; etc. Another eight are sometimes mentioned as *Maryādāparvata* or boundary ranges, e.g., Jaṭhara and Devakūṭa in the east and Niṣadha and Pāripātra in the west, both groups extending from Mt. Nila to Mt. Niṣadha, as also Kailāsa and Himavat in the south and Śṛṅgavat and Jārudhi in the north, both groups extending from sea to sea. See *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chapter 54. Sometimes the Mālyavat is mentioned as the range extending from Mt. Nila to Mt. Niṣadha. See *Matsya Purāṇa*, 113. 34-35.

4. See, e.g., *Mahābhārata*, VI. 6-12-13; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XXXIV. 37 ff., *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II. 238,

place, the number 'four' associating the continents with the four directions (viz. north, east; south and west) is quite natural, while the number 'seven' is regarded by scholars as conventional, even in the *R̥gveda*.⁵ Secondly, as we shall see below, the Buddhist writers conceived the great mountain at the centre of the earth as having seven concentric circles of rock around it, and these appear to have later developed into the Puranic theory of the seven concentric islands forming the earth. Thirdly, the early Pali works of the Buddhists alluding to the four-continent earth appear to be earlier than the Epico-Puranic sections on geography and cosmography which were mostly compiled about the early centuries of the Christian era, many of them as late as the 4th century A.D. or later.⁶

According to the Pali Buddhist works, there are innumerable *cakravālas* forming the world and each of them has at the centre a mountain called Meru. Between the *Cakravāla-parvata* and the outer most of the seven rocky circles surrounding Mt. Meru lies a vast ocean, and the four *mahādvīpas* are situated in the said ocean, equidistant from each other. These are the following:

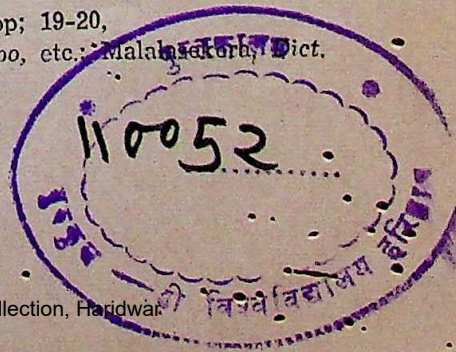
1. Kuru or Uttara-Kuru in the north;
2. Jambu in the south;
3. Pūrva-Videha in the east; and
4. Aparā-Godāna in the west.⁷

It will be seen that, while the names of the first and second are the same as in the Epico-Puranic list, those of Nos. 3 and 4 are different in the Brāhmanical and Buddhist accounts. The name Pūrva-Videha would mean 'Eastern Videha' or more probably 'Videha in the east'. It may be that the Buddhists preferred this name because the Buddha's birth-place, which is one of the four greatest Buddhist *tīrthas*, was situated in the ancient Videha country in Eastern India. While the Buddha was born at Lumbinīgrāma near Padaria in the Nepalese Tarai, the city of Mithilā, the ancient capital of Videha, stood on the site of modern Janakpur in the same Tarai region, though the Videha country

5. Cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 424.

6. Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Auc. Med. Ind.*, pp; 19-20,

7. See Childers, *Pali-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *mahādvīpa*, etc.; *Malalasekara's Dict.*, *Pali Prop. N.*, s.v. *Jambu-dīpa*, etc.



comprised primarily the Tirhut area of Northern Bihar. It may be noted that the words *pūrva* (east) and *apara* (west) were prefixed to the names of the continents respectively in the east and west on the analogy of the word *uttara* in the name of *uttara-kuru* in the north. Instead of *Pūrva-Videha* and *Apara-Godāna*, *Yādavaprakāśa*'s *Vaijayantī* mentions *Pūrvagandhika* and *Aparagandhika* as other names of *Bhadrāśva* and *Ketumāla* respectively.⁸

As regards the names *Bhadrāśva* and *Ketumāla* in the Epico-Puranic list, they link the four-continent theory with the seven-continent one. *Jambu-dvīpa*, the central island according to the *Sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī* conception, was divided into nine divisions or *varṣas*, of which three lay to the south of Mt. Meru, and three to its north, one around Mt. Meru at the centre, and one each to its east and west as follows:

1. (in the centre):
 1. Meru or *Ilāvṛta* lying around Mt. Meru.
- II. (to the south of the Meru — or *Ilāvṛtā-varṣa* around Mt. Meru):—
 2. *Bhārata* in the extreme south bounded in the north by Mt. Himavat and the Salt Ocean on the three other sides.
 3. *Kimpuruṣa* to the north of Mt. Himavat and to the south of Mt. *Hemakūṭa* which is the southern boundary of the *Hari-varṣa*.
 4. *Hari* to the north of Mt. *Hemakūṭa* and to the south of Mt. *Niṣadha* which is the southern boundary of the *Ilāvṛta-varṣa* around Mt. Meru.
- III. (to the north of Mt. Meru and the Meru- or *Ilāvṛta-varṣa*):—
 5. *Rāmyaka* to the north of Mt. *Nīla* (the northern boundary of the Meru or *Ilāvṛta-varṣa*) and to the south of Mt. *Śveta*.

8. See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 105, note 29;

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6. Hiraṇmaya to the north of Mt. Śveta, which is the northern boundary of the Rāmyaka-varṣa, and to the south of Mt. Śṛṅgin or Śṛṅgavat.
 7. Kuru or Uttara-Kuru to the north of Mt. Śṛṅgin or Śṛṅgavat, the northern boundary of the Hiraṇmaya-varṣa and bounded on the other three sides by the Lavaṇa ocean.
- IV. 8. Bhadrāśva to the east of the Meru- or Ilāvṛta-varṣa around Mt. Meru.
- V. 9. Ketumāla to the west of the Meru- or Ilāvṛta-varṣa around the Mt. Meru.⁹

It seems that Jambu-dvīpa was originally divided into seven *varṣas* (Nos. 1-7) to which Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla (Nos. 8-9) were later added. One has to note in this connection that the Jain writers adopted the seven fold division of Jambu-dvīpa and gave the names of Nos. 1-7 from south to north as follows:

1. Bharata (not *Bhārata*);
2. Haimavata (for Kimpuruṣa);
3. Hari;
4. Videha or Mahāvīdeha (for Meru or Ilāvṛta; cf. *Pūrva-Videha* of the Buddhists).
5. Rāmyaka;
6. Hairaṇyavata (same as Hiraṇmaya); and
7. Airāvata (for Uttara-Kuru).¹⁰

9. See, e.g., *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Chapters 33-34; *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 113; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chapter 54. Priyavrata, king of the Jambu-dvīpa, divided the kingdom among his sons — Nābhi (Hima- or Bhārata-varṣa), Kimpuruṣa (Hemakūṭa- or Kimpuruṣa-varṣa), Harivarṣa (Hari- or Naisadha-varṣa), Ilāvṛta (Meru- or Ilāvṛta-varṣa), Rāmya (Nila- or Rāmyaka-varṣa), Kuru (Śṛṅgavat- or Uttara-Kuru-varṣa), Bhadrāśva (Bhadrāśva- or Mālyavad-varṣa) and Ketumāla (Ketumāla- or Gandhamādanavarṣa). The names Mālyavad-varṣa and Gandhamādana-varṣa applied to Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla respectively support the location of the Mālyavat and Gandhamādana ranges to the east and west of Mt. Meru, although according to some Puranic texts the Mālyavat stood to the west and the Gandhamādana to the east of the Meru. See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 46 and note 37, p. 53, notes 73 and 76; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, V. 16.10; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 34. 47-48.

10. See Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 215.

The Jains also adopted the Purānic conception of the earth consisting of a number of concentric islands each surrounded by an ocean, and it appears that, originally, they thought of seven concentric islands as in the Purāṇas,¹¹ though the number gradually increased so that different works gave the numbers and names of the island-continents differently.

At the beginning of the Jain lists of islands and oceans we have the following seven pairs of names:

1. Jambu-dvīpa surrounded by the Lavaṇa-water ocean;
2. Dhātākī-khaṇḍa surrounding the Lavaṇa ocean and surrounded by the Kāla-water Ocean;
3. Puṣkara-dvīpa surrounding the Kāla Ocean and surrounded by the Puṣkara-water Ocean;
4. Vāruṇīvara-dvīpa surrounding the Puṣkara Ocean and having beyond it the Vāruṇī-water Ocean (cf. Surā-samudra of the Purāṇas, the words *Vāruṇī* and *surā* being synonymous);
5. Kṣīravara-dvīpa lying beyond the Vāruṇī Ocean and having beyond it the Kṣīra-water ocean (cf. Dugdha-samudra of the Purāṇas, the words *kṣīra* and *dugdha* being synonymous);
6. Ghr̥tavara-dvīpa lying beyond the Kṣīra Ocean and having beyond it the Ghr̥ta-water Ocean (cf. Sarpiḥ-samudra of the Purāṇas, the words *ghr̥ta* and *sarpis* being synonymous); and
7. Kṣaudravara-dvīpa lying beyond the Ghr̥ta Ocean and having beyond it the Kṣaudra-water Ocean (cf. Ikṣu-samudra of the Purāṇas, the word *kṣaudra* meaning 'honey').

Of the seven names of islands, Nos. 4-7 are coined after the names of the seas around each of them, which remind us of the

11. Note that the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* once (V. 30) specially mentions the following seven separately out of the 32 seas — (1) Kāla, (2) Vāruṇī, (3) Lavaṇa, (4) Ghr̥ta, (5) Kṣīra, (6) Puṣkara and (7) Svayambhūramaṇa.

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Oceans of similar names in the Puranic lists, although No. 4 is also reminiscent of Vāruṇa-dvīpa which was one of the nine divisions of the Bhārata-varṣa according to the Purāṇas.¹² The names Jambu and Puṣkara are well known from the Puranic lists while Dhātākī-khaṇḍa is known to have been the name of a division of the Puṣkara-dvīpa according to the Purāṇas.¹³

According to the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* (V: 11-26) which is a post-Gupta work the earth consists of 16 inner and 16 outer *dvīpas*, each of them having an ocean beyond it. The 16 inner *dvīpas* are the seven already enumerated above together with nine others whose names are also applied to the oceans beyond each of them. They are the following:— (1) Nandīśvara, (2) Aruṇavara, (3) Aruṇābhāsa, (4) Kuṇḍalavara, (5) Śaṅkhavara, (6) Rucakavara, (7) Bhujagavara, (8) Kuśavara and (9) Krauñcāvara. It will be seen that the last two names were borrowed from the Puranic lists. The names of the 16 outer *dvīpas*, applied also to the oceans beyond each of them, are as follows:— (1) Manaḥśilā, (2) Haritālā, (3) Sindūra, (4) Śyāma, (5) Añjanavara, (6) Hīṅgula, (7) Rūpyavara, (8) Kāñcana, (9) Vajravara, (10) Vaiḍūrya, (11) Nāgavara, (12) Bhūtavara, (13) Yakṣavara, (14) Devavara, (15) Ahindravara, and (16) Svayambhūramaṇa. Of these names, Manaḥśilā reminds us of Manahśilātala located by the Buddhists in the Himalayan region while Rūpya and Kāñcana are no doubt the same as the Suvarṇa-Rūpyaka-dvīpa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Chryse and Argyre of the classical writers who locate the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal.¹⁴

12. Cf. *Indra-dvīpaḥ Kaṣerumāms=Tāmraparṇo Gabhastimān/*
Nāga-dvīpas=tathā Saumyo Gāndharvo Vāruṇas=tathā//
ayaṁ tu navamas=teṣāṁ dvīpaḥ Sāgarasaṁvṛtaḥ//
 (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 57. 6-7).

Some late Purāṇas mention Katāha and Sīmha in place of Saumya and Gāndharva and apply the name Kumāra, Kumārī or Kumārikā to the Sāgarasaṁvṛta (*Vāmana Purāṇa*, 13. 10-11; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 55. 5; etc.).

13. Savana, who had received the Puṣkara-dvīpa from his father Priyavata, divided his kingdom between his two sons Mahāvīta and Dhātākī whose portions became known as Mahāvīta-varṣa and Dhātākī-khaṇḍa (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 33. 14-15).

14. See R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Vol. I, pp. 54-55. The names Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi are well known in early Indian literature.

How the number of the islands and oceans were increased arbitrarily can be seen from their lists in later works which mention the following names of *dvīpas*, (also applied to the allied oceans) beyond the Nandīśvara-dvīpa surrounded by the Nandīśvara or Nandīśvaroda Ocean:— (1) Aruṇa (cf. the name of the Aruṇoda Lake on the *Viṣkambha-parvata* called Mandara in the *Purāṇas*), (2) Arunavara, (3) Arunavarābhāsa, (4) Kuṇḍala, (5) Kuṇḍalavara, (6) Kuṇḍalavarābhāsa, (7) Śaṅkha, (8) Śaṅkhavara, (9) Śaṅkhavarābhāsa, (10) Rucaka, (11) Rucakavara, (12) Rucakavarābhāsa, (13) Hāra, (14) Hāravara, (15) Hārarābhāsa, (16) Ardhaḥāra, (17) Ardhaḥāravara, (18) Ardhaḥārarābhāsa, (19) Kanakāvali, (20) Kanakāvalivara, (21) Kanakāvalivarābhāsa, (22) Ratnāvali, (23) Ratnāvalivara, (24) Ratnāvalivarābhāsa, (25) Mukṭāvali, (26) Mukṭāvalivara, (27) Mukṭāvalivarābhāsa, (28) Ājina, (29) Ājinavara, (30) Ājinavarābhāsa, (31) Sūrya, (32) Sūryavara, (33) Sūryavarābhāsa, (34) Deva, (35) Nāga, (36) Yakṣa, (37) Bhūta, and (38) Svayambhūramāṇa.¹⁵ It will be seen that, while the *Tiloya-panṇattī* list offers 32 islands, the later list has no less than 46. We have also to note the attempt to create 22 new names out of 11 names with the expressions *vara* and *varābhāsa* suffixed thereto, even though a few names are found not to have been modified in the same way. There are also numerous fantastic details about all the islands and oceans in the Jain works, which have really nothing to do with geography. We may of course thank the Jain authors for their power of imagination and passion for useless description in which they appear to have excelled the Puranic writers quite considerably.

15. Kirfel. *op.cit.*, pp. 256-61.

Amber's Alliance with Akbar

AN ESTIMATE OF RAJA BHARMAL

BY

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Akbar's contemporary on the throne of Amber was Raja Bharmal, more correctly Bharamal, who was one of the cleverest and most shrewd Rajput statesmen that ever ruled an Indian State. Gifted with the qualities of realism and remarkable foresight he was able to see as early as June or July 1556, what no other ruler or statesman could at the time, that young Akbar, then a boy of less than fourteen with practically no territory to rule over, was likely to grow to the stature of a powerful ruler, and was, therefore, likely to be a useful prospective ally. At the time when Akbar's position was extremely precarious, when the Mughal dominion consisted of a small part of the Panjab, when Delhi and Agra were about to fall into the hands of Hemu and when the Mughal governors were fleeing from their respective provinces, Bharmal felt intuitively that Akbar, unlike his vacillating father Humayun, was a youth of resolution and that the almost defunct Mughal empire would have a new lease of life. So he decided to court the friendship of the first India-born young Mughal ruler, who had for all intents and purposes not yet given any proof of ability or statesmanship. So the far-sighted Raja decided to do some substantial service to the Mughal cause in order to catch young Akbar's attention.¹ As early as July-August, 1556, that is, within six months of Akbar's accession on an improvised brick-throne at Kalanaur he went to the assistance of the Mughal Commandant Majnun Khan Qāqshāl, who was besieged in the fort of Narnaul in the modern Mahendra Garh District of East

1. Bharmal did not resolve to bring about Majnun Khan's relief on account of his being hard-pressed by Mughal expansion, as Dr. P. Saran (vide *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 142) wrongly thinks. The Mughal aggression against Amber took place more than four years later.

Panjab by Haji Khan, a slave and adherent of the Sur dynasty. The Raja's intervention was responsible for Majnun Khan's relief and safe retreat to Delhi.² This incident took place while Akbar was encamped in the Panjab after his coronation and when every part of the Mughal territory except Gurdaspur District and the country upto Jalandar were over-run and occupied by the Afghans. Dr. P. Saran seems to confuse the sequence of events and make Majnun Khan's relief follow Akbar's victory over Hemu, which took place on the 5th of November, 1556.³ He has consequently failed to appreciate Bharmal's ability for divining correctly the future of the course of events which were shaping themselves in the country during that fateful epoch.

The grateful Mughal Commandant Majnun Khan brought the Raja's generous act to the notice of Akbar, who invited Bharmal to attend the imperial celebrations on his victory over Hemu at Delhi at the end of the first week of November, 1556. It may be noted that Bharmal was perhaps the only Rajput chief from Rajasthan to have been invited to be present at the celebrations, and he produced a very good impression on Akbar and his courtiers. "On one day when the robes of honour had been presented to the Raja and to his sons and other relatives," writes Abul Fazl, "and they had been brought to the court to receive their congê, his majesty was mounted on a ferocious (*must*) elephant which in its intoxication was rushing to every direction. People were all going to one side. Once it ran towards the Rajputs, but as they held fast to their loyalty they remained standing. This steadiness pleased the lofty glance of the Emperor, and he made enquiries about the Raja and said with his mystery-interpreting tongue: 'We will make you happy.'"⁴

2. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama* (Persian Text), Vol. II, p. 20; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. T.), Vol. II, p. 127; Badayuni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Per. T.), Vol. II, 12; Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh Akbar-Shahi* (Ms), pp. 49-74.

3. P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 142. The Raja was not invited to court immediately after this incident, as Dr. Saran wrongly supposes. He was invited to the court at Delhi after Akbar's victory over Hemu (November 5, 1556), that is, about four months after.

4. Abdul Fazl, *Akbarnama* (P.T.), Vol. II, p. 45; Eng. Tr. Bev., Vol. II, p. 70.

It seems that there was not much contact between Raja Bharmal and Akbar after the celebration of the imperial victory over Hemu, and we hear nothing about the Raja's visit to Delhi or Agra before January, 1562. But he did cultivate friendship with some of the Mughal nobles, notably Chaghtai Khan, and remained in touch with the court. During the intervening period some important incidents took place which obliged Bharmal to establish closer contacts with the Mughal Court. Detachments of Mughal troops captured Ajmer and Jai Taran in December, 1557.⁵ Early in January, 1561 Mirza Sharf-ud-din Hasan was married to Akbar's half-sister Bakhshi Banu Begum and he was sent to Mewat and Nagaur as governor.⁶ Ajmer was soon added to his charge. Sharf-ud-din proved to be a strong governor who tried to conquer the territories adjacent to his jurisdiction, the government of Nagaur and Ajmer. It will thus be clear that what P. Saran (who again confuses sequence of events)⁷ describes as "the inevitable tide of Mughal expansion," which according to the learned author of 'The Provincial Government of the Mughals', compelled Bharmal to win the Mughal favour by securing Majnun Khan's relief from Narnaul, took place one year and a half later, and the aggressive activities of the Mughal governor Sharf-ud-din occurred more than four years after the Majnun Khan episode. The presumption, therefore, is that Bharmal after his introduction to Akbar in November 1556 did not receive substantial attention and support from the Mughal court.

During 1561 Amber was threatened not on account of the Mughal aggression, but principally because of the internecine family feud which invited the interference. Bharmal was not the eldest son of his father and his elder brother Pooranmal's son named Suja claimed the throne of Amber as his birth-right. So he sought the assistance of Sharf-ud-din the Mughal Governor of Mewat, Nagaur and Ajmer. Sharf-ud-din invaded Amber, compelled Bharmal to pay a large contribution and took Bharmal's son Jagannath and his nephews named, Raj Singh and Khangar as hostages. Bharmal faced extinction. He fled and took shelter in the

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 64-66.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-128.

7. The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 142.

hills.⁸ In this helpless condition he sought the intervention of, and an alliance with, Akbar. Akbar was at that time on his first pilgrimage to Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti's mausoleum at Ajmer for which he had started from Agra on the 14th of January, 1562,⁹ and was at this time at Kalāwalī between Toda Bhim and Kharandi, when Bharmal sent a message through a Mughal noble, named Chaghtai Khan, expressing his desire to wait on the Emperor. Akbar accorded the necessary permission.¹⁰ The first Kachhawaha notables to call on Akbar at Deosa were Rupsi, Bharmal's brother and the former's son Jaimal, and the Raja himself came the next day and was received by the young Emperor at Sangānēr, seven miles South-West of the modern city of Jaipur. The Raja proposed his eldest daughter's marriage with Akbar to which the latter agreed and sent Bharmal back to Amber to make preparations for the wedding.¹¹

The marriage was solemnised at Sambhar early in the second week of February, 1562, after Akbar had returned from his pilgrimage to Ajmer. The Raja gave a rich dowry. After a few days' stay Akbar left Sambhar on the 10th of February and reached Agra on Friday, the 13th, covering more than 150 miles' journey in less than three days. Near Ranthambhore Bharmal's sons, grandsons and other relatives were introduced to Akbar. Bhagwant Das and Man Singh, who were taken in the imperial service, accompanied the Emperor to Agra.¹²

It is worthy of note that the proposal of the marriage had emanated from Bharmal himself who, after the Hindu fashion offered his daughter's hand (Kanyādān) to Akbar.¹³ The Amber princess was not compelled to become a Muslim and remained Hindu all her life. The marriage, therefore, was a significant event in medieval Indian history. The Princess became the mother of the future Jahangir, Akbar's heir and successor, and the alliance

8. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, Vol. II, p. 155. Dr. Saran talks of the imprisonment of Bharmal's sons (?) and disregards his nephews.

9. Not 1561 as Dr. Saran says.

10. Akbarnama, Vol. II, p. 155.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158; Badayuni, *op.cit.*, p. 50; Nizam-ud-din, *op.cit.*, p. 155.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 156; Badayuni, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

secured solid and loyal Rajput support to the Mughal throne and became an important cause of the Empire's expansion and stability. It produced a profound effect on Akbar's public policy as well as personal life.¹⁴

According to Dr. P. Saran, there was nothing novel or original about this marriage, as such marriages had taken place in the past. Moreover, writes Dr. Saran, "the policy of a non-communal or national kingship as opposed to the sectarian sovereignty of the Sultans of Delhi, had been initiated already by Humayun, but he did not live to give effect to it. *It was he who commenced the practice of entering into matrimonial alliances with the Hindu Chiefs, (Vide M. U. Vol. I, 693 and Vol. II, 619) with the ostensible object of creating confidence in and conciliating the martial races of India.*"¹⁵ There is no evidence to show that before February 1562 there had been a single matrimonial alliance between a Mughal ruler and a Rajput princess of Rajasthan or of any other part of India. There were just a few marriages between Muslim Sultans and Hindu women, but these were forced alliances and in every case the lady concerned was first converted to Islam before her marriage with a Muslim. At any rate no Rajput ruler before Bharmal had willingly given his daughter to a Musalman. As regards Dr. Saran's categorical assertion that Humayun had commenced the practice of entering into matrimonial alliances with the Hindu-Chiefs, it may be said that the Ma'sir-ul-Umra on which the learned author has relied does not write anything of the kind. The expression *zamindars of India* is used by Ma'sir-ul-Umra for Muslim zamindars and not for Hindu zamindars. Dr. Saran has obviously mis-read the relevant expression in that work. It is an undoubted fact that there was no Hindu lady in the harem of Humayun or of his father Babar. Another misunderstanding about this marriage has been created by Dr. Saran's observation that it was an unusual act of kindness on the part of Akbar to have agreed to the alliance. Writes the learned Dr. Saran: "The offer was, of course, *graciously accepted*, in consideration whereof Bihari Mal (Bharmal) received exceptionally liberal conditions of vassalage, which originated from a far-sighted statesmanship and

14. A. L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. 1, *passim*.

15. The Provincial Government of the Mughals, f.n. No. 1, p. 64.

not because the status or importance of the Raja deserved such a recognition."¹⁶ This is uncritically accepting the court historian Abul Fazl's partisan view that it was Akbar's kindness that made the marriage possible.¹⁷ The learned Doctor himself admits that Akbar's possessions at this time were small and his position was far from being firm and, therefore, he seized the opportunity and agreed to the marriage. It may, therefore, be safely asserted that although the initiative was taken by Bharmal, it was the self-interest of both the parties that made this historic marriage possible.

A pertinent question is whether Bharmal did not compromise his honour as a Hindu and a Rajput of high social status in offering his daughter's hand to a Mughal who was Muslim albeit a prince and ruler with high pretensions to the sovereignty of Northern India. The Raja must have been conscious of the odium, for his son Bhagwant Das made a persistent and greatly successful attempt all his life to prevail upon other Rajput rulers to enter into similar matrimonial relations with Akbar and his sons in order to make them fall in line with the Amber ruling house. The prejudice has not died out even today. An attempt has been made recently to show that the Amber princess was not born of Bharmal's Rajput Queen, and that she was a maid-servant's daughter. It is also said that not only this Princess but other 'so-called Rajput Princesses' who were given in marriage to Mughal Princess or rulers were born of concubines. This theory is without foundation. The Mughal rulers were not simpletons to be deceived so easily and we have evidence to show that the Rajput Princesses married to Akbar and his descendants were not born of concubines. Dr. Dashratha Sharma has published a Sanskrit inscription from the Bhuteshwar temple of Jaisalmer recording that the temple was erected by Parvati, a maid servant of Princess Nathi Bai, daughter of Hari Raj, ruler of Jaisalmer. The Princess who was married to Akbar had gone to Jaisalmer to see her ailing father Hari Raj, and it was then that her maid-servant had built the above temple.¹⁸ This proves not only that the Hindu ladies in Akbar's *harem* were free

16. Saran, *op.cit.*, p. 143.

17. Abul Fazl, *op.cit.*, p. 156; Eng. Tr. Beveridge, II, p. 242.

18. Investigator, Vol. II, pp. 7-8.

to follow their ancestral religion but also that they were genuine Rajput Princesses.

Another question which is even more relevant is whether Bharmal rendered a service to his State and saved the Amber kingdom from destruction by entering into the above alliance. On a critical appraisal of the facts it is clear that the Kachchwaha kingdom was not in the danger of extinction. It was not Akbar's policy to conquer and annex hereditary Rajput States to the Mughal empire. He annexed the Muslim kingdoms in India, which had formed part of the Sultanate of Delhi, but not any important ancient Hindu State whatever. Of course, if Bharmal had not taken this step, the Amber kingdom would have passed to his elder brother's son, Suja. The service that Bharmal rendered was, therefore, not to the State of Amber as such, but to his branch of the family. It is only incidentally that the service to himself and his family also meant service to his kingdom. It can, however, be said in fairness to Bharmal that he laid the foundation of the greatness and glory of Amber by his alliance with Akbar.

Bharmal displayed steadfast loyalty and devotion to the Mughal cause and won Akbar's confidence, appreciation and regard. As early as February-March 1562, that is, within a month or two of this alliance, he assisted the Mughal troops in the siege and capture of Merta, although this meant fighting against his own kith and kin.¹⁹ His son Bhagwant Das participated whole-heartedly in the siege of Chittoor against Rana Udai Singh in 1567-68, and also in that of Ranthambhor in March 1569. Bhagwant Das played a notable role in bringing over many a Rajput ruler to Akbar's friendship and alliance, particularly Bikaner and Jaisalmer. It was he who persuaded the rulers of these States to enter into matrimonial alliances with Akbar.²⁰

Akbar looked upon Bharmal and his kins-men as his relatives, and reposed implicit trust in them. When the Emperor was proceeding on an expedition to Gujarat, he sent his infant son Daniyal, who was born of a Muslim lady during his journey to Ahmedabad,

19. Akbarnama. Vol. II, pp. 160-162; Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, pp. 156; Badayuni, Vol. II, p. 50; Firishta, Vol. I, p. 50.

20. Akbar the Great, Vol. I, pp. 127-128.

to be taken care by Bharmal's Queen at Amber.²¹ During the first expedition to Gujarat Bharmal was placed in charge of the capital Agra, and the Raja sent a detachment of his troops under his nephew Khangar for the defence of Delhi which was threatened by the rebel Ibrahim Husain Mirza.²² He was again placed in charge of the capital during Akbar's second expedition to Gujarat.²³ It will be recalled that the Raja's grandson Mansingh and latter's father Bhagwant Das were sent one after another on a delicate mission to persuade Rana Pratap to accept Akbar's overlordship.²⁴

Bhagwant Das and his brother Bhupat fought valiantly during the second Gujarat expedition and risked their lives. Bhupat was actually slain in the battle. It is a measure of Akbar's regard for the Kachchwaha ruling house that he allowed his Rajput Queen, the mother of Salim, to pay a visit of condolence to Amber on the death of her brother Bhupat and to participate in the mourning. There can be no better proof of the implicit confidence reposed by Akbar in the ruling house of Amber than the fact he appointed Man Singh as the Chief Commander of the army that was sent to fight Rana Pratap in 1576. Long before his death Bharmal was ennobled with a very high rank as a mansabdar of 5,000. His son Bhagwant Das too was raised to the rank of 5,000 and the post of Governor of Lahore. It was in keeping with Akbar's habitual regard for the Kachchwaha royal family that on Bhagwant Das's death in November, 1589 he sent his Crown Prince, Salim on a visit of condolence to the deceased's house.²⁵ Man Singh, Bharmal's grandson, received the highest rank, viz., that of 7,000, open to one who did not belong to the Mughal imperial family. This rank was not held by any other noble except Akbar's favourite foster-brother Mirza Aziz Koka. The State of Amber thus became one of the most important Hindu States not only in Rajasthan, but in the whole of Northern India. Amber retained this status throughout the Mughal period, and it does so even now.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146, 153.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

25. Abul Fazl, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 570.

Rajghat Double Seal

BY

DR. B. CH. CHHABRA, *Chandigarh*

The small round copper seal that forms the subject-matter of the present article is in the possession of Mr. S. C. Batra of the well-known Mohenjodaro art-emporium, Sundernagar Market, New Delhi. This along with seven copper plates was offered to the Archaeological Survey of India for acquisition by purchase as far back as June 5, 1963. I, as Joint Director General of Archaeology in India, passed on the seal and the plates to Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, then Assistant Director (now Director), National Museum, New Delhi, with a note, saying: "The articles are important and worth acquiring. National Museum may be interested in purchasing them." Mr. Sivaramamurti inspected the objects and returned them with the remarks: "The seven copper plates are very interesting, particularly the two Maitraka ones comprising a set. The seal is also interesting. I am returning these to you now. They will be very valuable acquisitions for the National Museum." It is not known whether these antiquities have since been acquired by the National Museum.

My study of the seal is based on a couple of photographs which I had taken at that time for the purpose, as it is ultimately to be included in the *Corpus of Ancient Indian Seals*, one of the *Corpus* volumes assigned to me by the Archaeological Survey of India. According to its present owner, the seal was found at Rajghat, Varanasi. It is a rare specimen inasmuch as it is a double seal in the sense that one piece is having two separate seals, one engraved on each face. Their photographs, slightly enlarged, are reproduced on the accompanying plate. The upper two photographs show the seals as they originally are and the lower two ones show their impressions as we have to read them. The one with the figure of a *śaṅkha* or a conch-shell is the better preserved of the two.

The other seal is having a *chakra* or a discus as *rathāṅga* or chariot-wheel, the figure of which is to be seen more clearly on the photograph of its impression, the hub of the wheel protruding above the radiating spokes.

It is well-known that both the conch-shell and the discus are two of the four emblems of the God Viṣṇu, the other two being mace (*gadā*) and lotus (*padma*). Our seals are thus Vaiṣṇava ones. Seals with such emblems engraved on them, belonging either to royal personages or to common individuals, have been discovered in good numbers elsewhere, too, as for instance, at Bhiṭā in the Uttar Pradesh and Basārh in Bihar.

It may be observed that, in the case of the *śaṅkha* seal, the name of its owner appears below the emblem separated by a double horizontal line. The name appears to be *Puṣyacandraka*, the reading of the legend being *Puṣyacandrakasya*, meaning "(This seal is) of Puṣyacandraka." The reading of the third syllable is doubtful. It looks more like a *kha* than like a *cha*; but since *khandraka* would not make a sensible reading, we take it for *cha*. The formation of the next two letters, *ndra* and *ka*, is somewhat defective. The last *akṣara*, *sya*, is only partly preserved. The first two syllables, reading *Puṣya*, are absolutely clear. The script is post-Gupta Brāhmī of about the 6th-7th Century A.D.

In the case of the *cakra* seal, the name of the owner, on the other hand, appears above the emblem—the flat-lying chariot-wheel. The name, as tentatively read, is Haravarma. It can also be read as *Paurava*. The reading of the legend appears either to be *Pauravasya*, meaning "(This seal is) of Paurava," or to be *Haravarmasya*, meaning "(This seal is) of Haravarma." The script of this seal is queer mixture of early and late. The first letter can be read either as a simple *ha* or as *po*, if not *pu*. The second is definitely an early *ra*. The third is most likely a *va*. The fourth may be read as *sya*, taking its *s* to be a looped one and the lower part of the subscript *ya* as partly rubbed off. This, however, is very unlikely the case; because this letter is evidently followed by another which answers more to *sya*. For this reason one would take the fourth letter to stand for *rma*. A trace of the superscript *r* can be discerned over the left limb of the letter. The



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rma, having a looped *ma* with its right-hand limb hanging down, would appear so late as to be almost modern Nāgarī, the existence of which is very improbable in our seal which, on other grounds, is decidedly as early as 700 A.D. or thereabout.

Finally, my conjecture is that this *cakra* seal was rejected. The piece was later used by another individual whose name we have read as Puṣyacandraka. He might have been an eminent person, but not a royal personage or an officer of high rank, judging from the absence of some such honorific as *śrī* or any title prefixed to the name.

Determinant Factors in the Early History of Tamilnād

BY

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(Continued from Vol. XLV, Part III, Dec. 1967, p. 671)

Part II

Environmental

The environmental control over the human habitation in different parts of India had always been marked, and had led to the construction of wooden temples and houses in the Sub-Himalayan regions of heavy snowfall, and to the slopy-roofed, gable-type temples of Kēraḷa and Konkan where monsoon is particularly heavy, and added to this is the correlation of natural resources with climatic factors in habitations. For instance, the most outstanding characteristic of Kēraḷa habitation is the fact that they comprise discrete dwellings dotting the luxuriant forest clearings, and are not of the street-type or contiguous-occupation type. This is directly related to the economy and vocation of the people which is intimately connected with the rearing of groves of cocoanut, tapioca, jack-fruit and pepper, and their inclination to live in independent enclosures wherein the division of the space could be correlated to their seasonal routine. Tamilnād, on the contrary, does not receive so much rainfall as Kēraḷa, nor is there such dense forest land in its major part, and thus its economy and vocations are essentially, though not wholly, of the plain-land type. The significant climate equability of Tamilnād dwellings wherein a South-facing house is preferred for its facility to receive the cool Southern breeze (*tenṇal*), and warding off the rather unwelcome sleet of the wintry months, may indicate that there was no great need to provide for a very heavy or permanent shelter either by way of roofing or the walls. Thus, the residential type of Tamilnād, providing the simple brick or mud wall and a rather low thatch or tile roof with a characteristic and hospitable *pīal* set in front, and open courtyard in the middle of the house, is

built essentially for an equable climate, unlike the stone slab architecture of the dry and hot Rāyalasīma tract, or the almost completely mud walled and thatch roofed and mud-floored-loft type of the coastal Āndhradēśa (which receives relatively heavier rainfall than Tamilnād, and besides gets the benefit of both the monsoons). Tamilnād's mainstay is the North-East monsoon, the South-West monsoon giving only a little catchment water to some of its rivers at the watershed zone in the Western Ghats. A kind of gradation of climato-geographical features is available in ancient Tamilnād from the hills to the sea involving jungle, scrubland, fertile plain and costal littoral, and this had made the ancient classical Tamil authors like Tolkāppiyam distinguish four or five different physio-cultural zones, such as Kurinji, Mullai, Marudam, Naidal and Pālai.

A very important issue that is confronted in the nature of the ancient sites and mounds of Tamilnād available for exploration and excavation, is the unduly low contours of such habitation sites. Notwithstanding the countless ancient place-names known to us from literature and tradition, the spade has still to find a site in Tamilnād whose very dimensions proclaim it as a site worthy of the glorious past of Tamil country. Kavērippaṭṭiṇam, Uraiṇūr, Arikamēdu etc., have all been tapped by the archaeologist to a greater or lesser degree. But one thing that is common to all such sites is the fact that the height of the accumulated cultural debris of these sites has hardly ever been more than 10 ft. at best. Various explanations could certainly be advanced, namely, extensive cultivation and levellings, surface denudation by rivers and winds and sometimes by seas. But the fact remains that unlike sites of comparable antiquity in the Deccan and the North which often rise as very large mounds forming a distinctive feature of the topography of these ancient villages, the ancient sites of Tamilnād are always of an unobtrusive, restricted and indistinctive contours. Any valid reason for this state of affairs would thus have to be directly related to the nature of the life, the day-to-day activities, their material possessions and personal habits. These, while revealing high sophistication of the ethical and mental plane, could still have been spartan and unprepossessing in their material content. This would not belittle their greatness. Nor would it indeed be accidental because, in the ultimate analysis, these would have had a direct bearing upon the geography and climate of the country. Like

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the men and women of Kēraḷa who even in these days of modernity still go with their scantily, though discreetly, clad apparel, and live in ramshackle dwellings made out of forest-product itself and situated within dense jungle or vegetation growth, it would be feasible to argue that the ancient Tamils, had a culture the main elements of which, in respect of material dimensions, were largely composed of simple and scanty dress mud-dwellings, reed and grass thatch, pottery-utensils and wooden furniture—as indeed is largely obtaining even today in rural Tamilnad. It is very obvious that metal and brick did come into considerable use but this was apparently for the mansions of the chiefs or for rituals, weapons and implements. It is generally seen that only when brick structures are largely in use for civilian accommodation, the dilapidation of these, over successive stages of reconstructions and resettlement help in the steady rise of the town-mound and keep it in a raised elevation notwithstanding monsoon erosions and denudation. This is the reason why in other parts of India, mounds of sites not even going back to pre-Christian centuries, but using bricks all through have a high elevation. In Tamilnad, however, the apparent popularity of mud-houses with thatched roof, rather than of brick-built houses, had tended to reduce the contours of the habitations sites. Further, the highly disciplined and clean habits of the people had always been a factor against accumulation of rubbish and debris unlike northern sites where the multiplicity of residential bracka-brac and the use of metallic and other vessels in plenty for eating, washing and other purposes—as direct indices of social promiscuity and sophistication—had resulted in a sizable accumulation of culture-debris and rubbish. The sparing use of metals for domestic purposes, the impact of tropical climate on living and bathing habits, has reduced considerably the scope for large structures of brick and utensils for water storage in the South. On the contrary, agricultural implements are found in much larger number than weapon, even in the burial sites of Tamilnād, attesting to the emphasis on the vocation of the larger section of the people. Further, when we consider that even in the case of such well-known Purāṇic and Epic sites like Hastinapura, Indraprastha, etc., the earliest strata when excavated, had been hardly reflective of the literary accounts glorifying them overly, we may take heart that a like dual character of the Tamils, prudent and simple in living, yet industrious in agriculture and in the pursuit of knowledge, is the factor behind

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the lack of impressive mound sites of the ancient Tamils. The use of wood and mud was most dominant. The question of stone does not arise since at least in the best part of the coastal districts, they were clearly in short supply. For a very long time, ancient temples in Tanjore district—the heart of Cōla Nāḍu—had been constructed mostly of brick, and only later, many of these had been re-built in stone. Inscriptions are many that attest to such re-constructions. This was due to the immediate and large availability of alluvial sticky earth, by clearing which for bricks and brick-kilns, habitation areas themselves could and had to be enlarged. The pattern of incidence of habitations in Tanjore District in relation to the wet paddy lands is essentially caused by such clearance of alluvium and building houses on the high grounds caused by the clearance. This was how, apparently, the marshy coastal tracts forming the best part of the South-East Cōla country were reclaimed.

There was a maritime bias and an inclination to dress one's person with fresh flowers and special ornaments rather than to wear elaborate dress or build stately structures. Even Kings wore on their persons only ornaments and garlands; the palm tree symbol of the Cēra and his bow and arrow emblem, the margosa flower of the Pāṇḍya, his double-carp emblem are all a direct reflection of the indigenous and tribal features. The *ār* or *Atti* flower pertained to the Cōlas and their tiger emblem is most probably traceable to the wild feline species that would have infested the swampy marshes of the major and Southern part of the Kāvēri Delta in pre-Christian centuries. From the fact that even in the time of Mahēndra Pallava, as in his *Mandagappāṭṭu* record,²⁹ he has to own that till then, structures to gods were made of brick, wood, metal and stucco, it was obvious that they were of clearly perishable materials and were certainly not even of cut-stone. When such was the case with the *koil* or the mansions of gods till about 600 A.D., we need not harp too much upon the simplicity of the civilian dwellings. It is of considerable interest in this connection that even in a set-up of the first-second century A.D., as at Aṛikamēdu and Woraiyūr, the most important burnt brick structures noticed were mostly those which could be considered as

29. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, pp. 14-17; *S.I.I.*, XII, No. 12; and *A.R.S.I.E.*, No. 56 of 1905;

the dying cisterns and vats, indicating that the trade in rare commodities like silk, muslin, etc., was considered more important than substantial dwellings for all the folk. Even at Kāyērippattinam, the large and medium-sized burnt bricks were used mainly for wharf-platforms, Buddhist monasteries, and irrigation inlets, and we have not had any purely civilian structures till now, although antiquities of different kinds have been forthcoming. The Sangam literature is so full of references to high rectitude and other qualities of head and heart of the then society and is not sufficiently vocal about the material amenities of the society, although undoubtedly the country produced great wealth. This wealth was largely by brisk maritime enterprises in which the Cōlas and Pāṇdyas particularly excelled, and which brought to their doors people from many foreign climes. The ruggedness of life is directly represented in the heroic character of society wherein chivalry, fight to the finish, unsullied bravery in battle, and romantic attachment to sentiment and cults in peace-time reigned supreme.

The four-fold division of the country (excluding the Pālai, which is essentially of a rain-shadow, barren tract) into *Kurinji*, *Mullai*, *Marudam* and *Naidal* is an index of a degree of variegated and to some extent exclusive socio-cultural life of the country, the norms differing in each of these physiographic divisions. The indigenous cults were *Kurinji*-and *Mullai*-based, and economic wealth was produced by the sea-faring people of the *Naidal* tract with their salt, fish and pearls. It is *Marudam* which was the most prosperous and habitable, and had for its God, Indra who was the Vēdic God, *par-excellence*, unlike those of *Kurunji* and *Mullai*, who had Muruga and Viṣṇu, who could both be classed perhaps as Late-Vēdic, if not as indigenous Gods. It is these *Marudam* people that received and conserved the impulses moving into Tamilnad by land routes. The character of the entire early Tamil classics supports the thesis that highly systematised social hierarchy and groups were achieved only by the early historic times—the period of the Sangam classics—and the Kings of the land were largely a group of warlike, rugged, romantic, tribal chieftains who held sway over terrains running from the hills to the sea and were patronising learned men who sank ballads and panegyrics about these royal benefactors. The themes of these classics are love, and war mostly, to both of which the essentially mixed dietary and drinking habits of the people were direct-

ly conducive. Pepper from the hills, sandalwood and ivory from the forests, rice from the plains and pearls from the coast were largely exported³⁰ to fetch the yellow metal which gave the Tamils monetary solvency. The maritime bias of the Tamil country was itself something which was fundamentally nurtured by its geographical location. It would seem that before the monsoon wind patterns (attributable to Greek Hippalus) were discovered by Greeks in the 1st century A.D., there was no great ocean-going trade, and boats almost always hugged the coast. Extant evidence suggests that Korkai, Puhār etc., had become ports only from the early historic times after the monsoon winds swung around the Cape Comorin and reached ports on the Bay of Bengal, and Tamilnād virtually became the mistress of the Indian Ocean with its fleets reaching Java and Burma on the one side and Aden and Arabia on the other. But even in the pre-Christian centuries, there had been undoubtedly some maritime links which largely kept to the coast and, where not feasible, ventured into hazardous and adventurous voyages, and indeed early contacts of foreign racial strains and cultures with the Southern coast could have come mainly in this way.

Ephigraphical

On the linguistic plane, we note the following developments in early Tamilnād. The earliest Tamil as known to us is from the cave records but is not yet the *sen-tamiḷ* that we know of from the Sangam literature or the early Pallava records. These Pallava records themselves clearly show a refinement over the *Prākṛtic* Tamil forms of the cave-records and even the usages of Sangam classics, and show a simultaneous use of *Nāgara* as well as *Grantha* letters—which is certainly a great sea-change over the earliest script usage.

The use of Sanskrit and Tamil in the early records of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas is analogous to the use of Sanskrit and the local Prakṛt at the same time in the early Āndhra and Ikṣvāku records as at Nāgārjunakonda. The script used by the later Pallavas,³¹ however, is more akin to the Telugu-Kannaḍa script of the early Cāḷūkyas of Western India, whose language itself³¹

30. Periplus of the Erythraean Sea — Ed. Schoff.

31. *Inscriptions of the Bombay-Karnāṭak*, South Indian Inscriptions, No. 2 of 1939-40. Tamil also is perhaps one of the *Prākṛta bhāṣas*, considerably tied up to Sanskrit, notwithstanding its residuary individualism.

has been referred to as the '*prākṛtabhāṣā*' in one of their inscriptions, in the Kallamatha temple at Badami. Indeed even the Pallava diction in its Tamil shows unmistakable influence of this Telugu-Kannāḍa sub-stratum as employed in the Kariṇāṭaka by the Cālūkyas. The employment of Sanskrit for the *praśasti* part of a record and Tamil or the regional language for the actual operative portions of the charter as early as mid-sixth century A.D. would show, on the one hand, that using Sanskrit for the *praśasti* has been found respectable and, on the other hand, the local people could understand only the operative part which is intended to be widely publicised. It implies also the institutions of court-pandits, scribes etc. The early Pallava grants of Sivaskandavarman etc., are mostly in Prakṛtic language though there also are a few cases in Sanskrit and *only* in the Nāgari script. The use of Tamil-grantha characters in the subsequent records from the time of Simha Viṣṇu clearly shows a local development by impacts with indigenous elements in Tamilnād proper, and lends strength to the thesis that the early Pallavas before Simha Viṣṇu might have been ruling with their seat located in the Āndhra country proper. These records themselves have been found only in the Āndhra tracts of today. Thus the shedding in the early Pallava records of Tamilnād of *Prākṛts* which are dialects and sometimes also the *apabhramśas* of Sanskrit, and the use of both Tamil and Sanskrit subsequently clearly bespeak a linguistic break with the past, both geographically and politically. On the other hand, that Brahmi script should be employed for expressing what is clearly a Tamil language, *albeit* in its dialectical form, in the cave records indicates a setting which is certainly different from that in which the Tamilnād Pallavas were placed. The fact that this practice continued right into early historic times, as indicated by the employment of this Brahmi script for Tamil in the pottery labels in Arikamēdu and Woraiyūr excavated finds (c. first century A.D.) would itself show that until that time an authentic Tamil script was not at least fully developed, although the Tamil linguistic usage was conceivably well-marked over the whole of Tamilnād.

Thus, even by this means, we are being led to the premises that the earliest development of the Tamil script of which the *Vatteluttu* of the Pāndyan records and *Grantha* of Pallava records were the later manifestations, would have happened after or around the first century A.D., at the earliest. This would seem

to be a common feature whenever settlers had been the indigeous folk and had wanted to use scripts for their daily use. For instance, at the Buddhist site of Sālihundam, the pottery,³² both of the rouletted ware (c. 50 A.D.) and other associated local early historic ware, had short label records of names and other adjuncts essentially in Brahmi script, palaeographically showing even a staggering atavism of forms ranging from second century B.C. to 1st-2nd century A.D., and the language of these, again, was *Prākṛt* and not Sanskrit. Even at Nagārjunakoṇḍa, almost all the Buddhist inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus are in *Prākṛt*, and even the Kings have been known in their own records only as *ikhākus* and not as ikṣvākus, but they did use Sanskrit also in just a few cases (as in the Kumāranandi inscription or the Puṣpabhadraswami pillar inscription there). *Prākṛt* continued to be used even in post-Ikṣvaku times, in the Abhira interregnum, as in the 'Aṭhabujasāmi' temple inscription. But by the fifth century A.D. even Buddhist sites started using Sanskrit as a normal vehicle in the records, found not only in the University area inscriptions of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, but also from Jaggayyapeta etc. The fact that the usage of funerary practices, both of the urn burials in deep South and megalithic tombs of the North Tamilnād, as outlined earlier (pp. 20-22), also seems to end with the 1st-2nd century A.D. would show that the vehicles which brought about the introduction of the earliest Tamil as found in the cave records and which herald subsequently the full development of the Tamil language as revealed in the Sangam classics, and the Tamil script as ultimately shaped in the early Pallava records of Tamilnad, were the admixed breed consisting of the northerners, the *Vaṭu-gas* from Āndhradēsa, and the people who were responsible for the dispersal of the megalithic practices in the Tamil country. The very occurrence of the earliest Brahmi-Tamil records in the southern-most Districts of the Tamil country would further show a very early diffusion of certain Northern impulses into deep South vouching for a lack of any other live local culture existing there, which could have controlled the area. The cave beds and records reflect the cultural-linguistic elements implicit in the contemporary society of this area.

32. Dr. R. Subrahmanyam — *Salihundam — A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh* — Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series No. 17, Hyderabad (1964).

The breakdown, reduction and assimilation of the rich phonological structure of the Old Indo-Āryan are seen even in the Middle Indo-Āryan. *Prākṛts* got the pride of place in all kinds of social documentation, in place of Sanskrit. It also borrowed the rich vocabularial content from non-Indo-Āryan groups. This period may be placed generally between 6th century B.C. and 11th century A.D.³³ This is the form that Tamil words show. The absence of *anusvara* ending and the lack of duplication of the consonant are also a feature of these earliest Tamil records, as in the caverns. This apparently follows the vowel-ending characteristic of the nominals of the Middle Indo-Āryan, as distinct from the rich declensional system of the old Indo-Āryans. A question can arise as to whether the language of the cave-records should be taken as the standard dialect of the times, or one of the many local varieties in vogue. It is to be noted that the known examples of the cave-records from the different Districts of the deep South do not show a comparatively uniform mode of syntax and word structure, except in the latest group. But the use of the early form of Brahmi in these records would show that, at that time, the local people did not have any script other than this Brahmi, brought by the immigrants to the deep South. When, however, even in and after the 1st-2nd century A.D. as at Arikamēdu and Sālihunḍam we find the use of almost similar early Brahmi script, we are more or less constrained to concede a degree of isolation to the currency of this script in the South. In fact, it would appear that the use of this Tamil-Brahmi script was continued even well into the classical period and was notable at Tirunāthankunru on the one hand, and Pilliarpaṭṭi on the other. We may further note that the latter site, where the Brahmi lines are found actually on the wall pilaster to the North of the main shrine of a rock-cut cave of the early Pāṇḍyas here, would show that this script continued almost upto the 1st half of the 8th century A.D. For, this would be the earliest feasible date for this cave temple on stylistic, iconographic, geographical and other grounds. The temple shows *Lingodbhava* and *Ganēśa* carvings, which are not to be found in Tamilnāḍ before 700 A.D. Further, the cave sanctum shows a monolithic *linga*

33. S. M. Katre — *Prakrit languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture* — Deccan College, Poona (1964).

with *pīṭha* of circular section, which, again, is the latest in its series, among the Pāṇḍyan caves, of which we have upwards of thirty examples in the Tamil country.

The sequel to this would be that

(a) The Brahmi-Tamil script was in preferred but not in universal usage almost upto the 8th century A.D. but the most central period of its prolific usage would certainly be 1st-3rd century A.D.; whatever examples are there of even earlier context upto 1st-2nd century B.C. are all decidedly very archaic in their Tamil, as well as in palaeography.

(b) *Ipso facto*, some of the Sangam classics themselves might have been as late as the 8th century A.D. The Pillaiyārpaṭṭi inscription refers to one 'Erukatturukkonperum Baranan', and this place-name *Erukattur* is one mentioned in Sangam classics (specifically "*Puṛaṇam*" 397) written by Tayankaṇṇanār who seems to have belonged to Erukattur). We have an Erukattur in the Salem region also. We have a Baranan who is closely associated with the Adiyamanas of Tagaḍur. We are thus able to see a late stratum in the Sangam anthology itself wherein a limited, stagnant continuity of the Brahmi Tamil script had also been observable, although *Pallava-grantha* itself had made great strides by then, apart from the alternative Nagari script. The Pillaiyārpaṭṭi³⁴ palaeography further fully bears out its late devolution from the earlier Brahmi-Tamil form of Arikamēdu, Arachchalūr, Pugalur etc. Only in the post-Sangam period, when we have a

34. This is certainly not the occasion for entering a caveat against the views of Nagaswami and I. Mahadevan regarding the age of Pillaiyārpaṭṭi cave and its record. To ascribe arbitrarily on very tenuous grounds, a pre-Pallava age to Pillaiyārpaṭṭi Pāṇḍyan cave as done by the above scholars (vide Sunday Standard, October 31, 1965) and make it thus the earliest Brāhmanical rock-cut cave shrine in Tamil country and thus indeed, in the whole of South India — if its date is the end of the 5th century A.D. as alleged — is just fantastic and goes completely against history, geography and art and cultural movements. It amounts to an obsession with the potentialities of the script here of Tamil-Brahmi which evolved unsystematically on account of the polyglot ethnic and cultural strains in the early historic Tamil country. This approach also shows a scant regard for the monumental architecture which was the *very carrier* of the inscription and which should thus be studied first and taken as the basis for arriving at the age of the script as well, as a sequel. Otherwise, it will be putting the cart before the horse.

closer and more comprehensive integration of local and Northern trends, that we find the flowering of a typical Tamil script both of the Grantha and of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu forms. This would mean that in the centuries preceding the Christian era when the Dravidian culture impinged on the local proto-Australoid matrix and imposed a variety of cultural elements, of which the funerary practices and the linguistic development were a few, these kept a tenuous liaison with the Northern cultures through the known link of the Brahmi script only, but were otherwise a virile local complex identifying itself completely with the local economy of the country. The fact that this culture employed a kind of graffiti engravings on its burial pottery would, in the light of the Brahmi records of the caves, suggest that these graffiti were not alphabetic marks, but only symbols which had essentially certain ownership or proprietorship marks, and have no phonetic or linguistic import. The increase in the prosperity of the land under the urn-burying, megalith-erecting (Dravidian?) folk had been caused by the increased and more increased use of iron for defence and agriculture craft and cult-practices. Thus, the technologically most useful metal, iron, had caused a local revolution, and given a certain degree of consolidation, cohesiveness and sustenance to these people, resulting in a viable social entity, stimulating the growth of arts and letters. Of course, the iron-using folk while in the North displayed a technique of stone-quarrying which was a direct outcome of their metal-tool craftsmanship, whereas in the deep South, the use of iron implements had been more channelised towards agriculture. Thus even here, there was a certain variation in the relationship between environment with its raw materials and metallurgy, the latter being made subservient to the former.

Thus the heritage of the Tamil country was shaped also by the geographical or environmental factor, the distribution and source of raw materials, the inception of iron metallurgy, the maritime bias of the land, the early application of language in the script medium — though Northern in form to start with. Unlike other regions of the South, namely, Āndhra, Kārṇāṭaka and Kēraḷa, Tamilnād had been able to evolve a literature quite early, and was thus in the vanguard of literary expression in its own formative script medium already in the fifth century A.D. in chaste Tamil. Considering the early use of Brahmi, and the rich

literature of the Sangam classics, we are tempted to concede the origin of the Tamil script, whether of the *grantha* or *Vatṭeluttu* within the Sangam period itself, notwithstanding the present lack of evidence thereto.

In other words, the gradual āryanisation, if one may use the term, of the Southern people, particularly in Tamilnād, gave rise to a coeval development of local script, free of the Northern alphabet to a large extent though certainly influenced by it, for expressing the local language, and by the 8th century A.D., certainly we have independent Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa scripts developing into their modern counterparts.

At least in three different zones, namely at Sālihunḍam, at Arikamēdu and in the caverns of the Southern Tamilnād, we see the limited employment of almost identical script for admittedly divergent usage — by the Buddhist laity at Sālihunḍam on the pottery employing a Middle Indo-Aryan Prākṛt; by the local indigenous people at Arikamēdu, again on pottery, employing Tamil but occasionally also indicating Middle Indo-Aryan dialect suggestive of Northern settlers there; and by the donor-tradesmen of the votive records of the Southern Tamilnād caves, using again Tamil and employing a syntax and structure that is certainly varied and in parts much more archaic than that of Arikamēdu. The language was not Pāli which was affected by the learned, like Sanskrit, but a true Prākṛt, the language of the people (Prākṛti).

It would be interesting to quote here what a former Government Epigraphist in India had to say on the Arikamēdu inscribed sherds themselves. "At first sight, the script found on the graffiti from Arikamēdu appears to belong to the first or second century B.C. when compared with the script of other Brahmi inscriptions, particularly those found in the north. On the other hand, the date of the pottery as indicated by its association with dated antiquities, is of the first century A.D. or near date. The reason for this discrepancy is not, however, far to seek. The script of the Arikamēdu pottery and the early rock-shelters of the Madura and Tinnevely Districts seems to be more akin to the ancient Dravidi script than the regular Brahmi as found in the edicts of Asoka and other early inscriptions. We also know that the Dravidi script must have separated from the main stock of Brahmi much

earlier than the time of Asoka, at the latest in the fifth century B.C. (Buhler, "Indian Palaeography", *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIII, appendix, p. 8). This is undoubtedly the reason why so many archaic forms are noticed in the few inscriptions so far known in the Dravidi script. The development of forms after separation could not be so fast in Dravidi as in the regular Brahmi, which continued to be used throughout the whole of India. If we bear this point in mind it would not be unreasonable to assume that, though the script of the Arikamēdu graffiti appears to be similar to the script of Brahmi inscriptions of the first and second centuries B.C., it actually should be relegated to a later period. If this assumption is correct, then the so-called discrepancy between the palaeographic and the archaeological evidence would seem to disappear."³⁵

Thus we seem to get here the early forms of the *Drāviḍi* script as different from the *Nāgarī*, of which the earliest form was called Brahmi. It would also signify that one of the chief factors that motivated the separation of the *Dravidi* script from the main stock of Brahmi (almost from before 5th century B.C. as is claimed) would seem to have been the volume of trade that was transacted by the Tamils then which brought many people to their shores and took them also across the seas. The need for an alphabet of their own was apparently felt and this was evolved, howsoever clumsily, in the initial stages. The characteristic local elements in this script are not far to seek. They indicate how the Tamil script evolved in its own fashion, as of necessity, in a sociological context, stimulated by trade. It presupposes also the presence from almost that stage, of men from North (but not necessarily of the Northern Aryan stock alone) well used to the Brahmi script, but themselves not forming part of the Indo-Aryan linguistic stock. These would be only the Proto-Mediterranean Dravidian stock of people who came South from North. Their arrival South is attested to by many later Paurāṇic traditions of Agastya and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and is attested to also by the distribution of racial types in the Telugu, Canarese and Tamil countries. They supersede the Austroloid or Austro-Asiatic people completely, and bring civilised urban life to the region.

35. *Ancient India*, No. 2, 1946, pp. 110-111.

The considerable Dravidisation of the Āryan language or old Indo-Āryan language from the Vēdic age onwards, the Dravidian character of a good deal of the extra Indo-European elements in Hindu religion, ritual, thought, mythology, all these strongly prove the original diffusion of the Dravidian-speaking people in the Panjab and the Upper Gangā Valley and Eastwards towards Bengal. At least in the first two regions, Dravidian and the Austric people appear to have been living side by side, apparently as *Niṣādas*, *Vrātyas* and *Dasyus* variously. The Vēdic speech shows many non-Āryan words with Dravidian affinities, and in its phonetics falls in line with the Dravidians, by adopting or developing the cerebral sounds (ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ḷ, ṣḥ) which are so distinctively Dravidian.³⁶ Tamil itself is a word-form to be derived from Dravila or Drāviḍa and perhaps to pre-Indo-European Mediterraneans, called Lycians of Asia Minor, who called their own speech as *Trmmili*. Some of these Eastern Mediterraneans should have brought this cultural appellation to South India. Thus, there is even a scope for assuming a linguistic rigidity into Dravidian and Northern language blocks, as caused by geography, local cultures and socio-political isolation. The nearer we go to pristine conditions, the better we become acquainted with the close relationship of linguistic usages between the Dravidian and the Indo-Āryan. This is not to ignore the hard core of individuality of either of the two. The Tamils in their pristine fabric formed one of the triad—the Austric speaking Proto-Australoids, the Dravidian speaking Mediterraneans and the Indo-European, Āryan-speaking Nordics Alpines and Dinaries — that made up the *Indian people and their civilization*.

Socio-Cultural

The graphic way in which Bishop Caldwell³⁷ gave a thumbnail sketch of this Dravidian civilization of Tamils is truly corro-

36. S. M. Katre, *op.cit.*

37. "The Tamils had kings, dwelt in strong houses, ruled over divisions of country, they had minstrels, who recited songs at festivals, they seem to have alphabetical characters written on a palm leaf with stylus and a bundle of such made a book. They had laws fixed by tradition and not by judges. They were acquainted with metals other than tin, lead and zinc, with the planets like Velli (Venus), Chevvey (Mars.), Viyazhan (Jupiter) but not Mercurý and Saturn. They had medicines, hamlets, towns, canoes, boats and small ships (*toni, padaku, kappal*).

borative of the high background of civilization which linguistic palaeontology itself suggests for these people. Even the rituals of the Dravīdians were different from those of the Vēdic Āryans. The Gīta says—

*Patram Puṣpam, phalam, tōyam yo me
bhaktyā prayacchatī
tad-aham-bhaktyupahritam-aśnāmi
prayatātmana*

This puja-offering of leaf, flower, fruit or water is in marked contrast to the sacrificial or homa *vidhi* of the Āryans to their gods and would thus indicate a non-Āryan fusion with Āryan practices at an early period before the Gīta, which would more or less overlap with the beginning of the period of the Sangam classics.

At the time of the Sangam classics, we see a dominant Viṣṇu cult with its associative Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. This is, of course, a residuary or fragmented part of the Panca-vīra cult — of which we have even a late Pallava temple, as in the celebrated Parthasārathi shrine at Triplicane, Madras. We no doubt have Indra also, but only secondary in importance compared to Viṣṇu. Muruga was well-known and certain forms of Śiva are familiar. *Ganēśa* is not known.³⁸ Varuna, as sea-god is known and was associated with Naidal tract. We learn about the Trinity on an equal footing in the Pallava period.³⁹ which was not the natural outcome of the Sangam heritage but a movement from Āndhra Pradesh.

The Trinity which was Narayana-centred to start with, has also the accompaniment of Durgā, who is the Korravi⁴⁰ of the Pālai

They were acquainted with agriculture and war. Their necessary arts of daily life included spinning, weaving and dyeing. They excelled in pottery, as shown by their burials."

38. *Ganēśa* is known in Tamilnad only from the time of Rājasimha Pallava (700-728 A.D.) and not before. The cult has spread into the Tamil country apparently from the Calukyas.

39. Mahendra's Mandagappattu inscription and Trinity formula in main shrine which continued from Paramesvara I upto Rajasimha's time, are evidences of this.

40. V. S. Agrawala, *Terracotta Figurines of Ahicchkhatra*, District Barailley, Ancient India, No. 4, p. 151 and fn.

country of the Sangam classics. The dominance of Śiva and a polarisation of Śiva and Viṣṇu occurs only from the time of the Cōlas in the 9-10th centuries A.D. It is of interest to note here that the Kings who were ruling the hill tracts either in North Tamilnād or in the adjoining areas of Āndhra Pradesh, as in Anantapur and Chittoor Districts, were essentially pastoral and most of the inscriptions⁴¹ of that period refer either to the protection given by royal officers to the cattle lifters—cattle having been given important place in the assessment of the wealth of these petty hill Kingdoms. Similarly also, attention is paid to irrigational devices and the construction of waste-water weirs is attested to in many early inscriptions of this area. Some of the dynasties like the Āys were patently pastoral in their very making, and orientated to the Yēdavās and Abhiras of the North who were shepherds by profession, *Vaiṣṇava* by faith, and whose activities had a great bearing on the economic well-being of those societies. The agricultural traditions of the indigenous inhabitants of the Deccan in the Chalcolithic period, the pastoral movements from the Northern plains, the highly specialised Iron Age Megalithic movement of the Dravidian speaking peoples, the sea-faring Roman contacts, all entered the Tamil country and found the land a ready recipient of this motley inheritance. The Jains, the Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and later Christians have all, by turns, found this region their haven.

It is its adventitious geographical location that had played a significant part in the Kingdoms that flourished in the classical period in South India. We note that, of these, the Pallavas, Pāṇdyas and Cāḷukyas alone were the most dominant. Even of these, the Pāṇdyas were mainly on the side-line lending moral and adventitious support to either of these two main dynasties; but, by their having been the lords of the deep South from coast to coast, had made further links with maritime Kingdoms like the Kadambas on the Konkan coast and were in greater comradeship

41. Gangaperuru record — E.I., Vol. XXXVI — Pt. V, Jan. 1966, p. 207; Vaidumba record at Kalakada — E.I. XXX, pp. 278 ff. The former is the oldest of its kind and is palaeographically similar to Nagarjunakonda records and was perhaps suggestive of Abhira involvement in the cattle-lifting, as we have an Abhira record, though not of cattle-lifting, from Nāgārjunakonda at the same time.

with Cālukyas than with the Pallavas. Thus, Karṇāṭaka on the one hand, and Āndhra Pradesh and North Tamilnād on the other were the chief adversary neighbours. It was only later, that the Pāṇḍyas first and the Cōlas, as the true sons of the Tamilnād rose to a restitution of their legitimate claims to political supremacy in this area. The Pallavas were essentially Āndhra in stock and only because of this reason, they could not effectively penetrate deeper South, and subjugate the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas, and their empire in their hey-day had to end in the South with Kāvēri, practically. This feature again has introduced a new dimension in the regionalism of Tamil culture by which the peoples of Tondainad, of Cōla country and Pāṇḍyan tracts had themselves become sharply distinguishable from one another, though not entirely in ethnic features, at least in their speech, habits and potentialities. The fact that of these three ancient Kingdoms, it was the Cōla country that had the largest stretch of arable land, at least from the early historic times, and the Pāṇḍyan country that had the traditional fame and scope for trade with its pearls—as the chief symbol of distinction—and the Pallava country that was the ancient gateway to the introduction of new and vigorous trends in knowledge and pursuits of peace, has given rise to the most popular saying of our venerable poetess Avvai.⁴²

Literary traditions in Tamilnād are not much earlier than the Sangam classics and whatever data of written character we have earlier to them (like the early cave-records) would not seem to be amenable to any rational analysis as historical material. It would be an inevitable corollary to the piecing out of the literary strata of Tamil culture to note that a genius for extensive assimilations existed in the ancient matrix. The chief group which contributed to this was the Draviḍian folk whose archaeological index as already noted (pp. 25-27) was the black and red ware, their metallurgical medium was iron, and their cultural hallmark was the funerary ritual. It is now not seriously contended that the Sangam literature was a complex of many strains of cultural heritage—the incoming woof being no less significant than the local warp. The varied character of the vocations which had

42. "Sōla nādu Sōruḍaittu
Pāṇḍi nādu Muttuḍaittu
Tonḍai nādu Sānroruḍaittu".

become well consolidated in the period of the Sangam classics, forms a direct testimony to the sociological acceptance of the theory of the caste—vocation formula, without inhibitions or social stigma. The ramifications of metropolitan and urban activities, calling for a well-coordinated endeavour of a host of artisans like blacksmiths, goldsmiths, architects, cartwrights, oilmongers, fruiterers, perfumers, boatmen, cobblers, washermen, painters, weavers, cooks, musicians, mendicants, and odd-job-men, would imply well-regulated civic amenities and well-distributed economic wealth and agricultural surplus. The indirect and direct references to historic details and cult leanings of the society would certainly suggest a fairly late date for the Sangam classics or at least for the latest among them. At the same time, we are to consider the entire Sangam classics as one epoch, culturally and sociologically, with the result that the date-brackets of its expansive sway would cover a few centuries. We are provided with a *terminus-post-quem* for this epoch by the copious occurrence of epigraphical material bearing upon ruling dynasties from, say, the second half of the 6th century A.D. whereafter not only is the Sangam literary inflexion becoming otiose, but also there is a considerable clarity in the historic personalities of the age and the pattern of power-supremacy on the political plane. Thus, we would be well-advised in placing the age of the Sangam classics, as extending from, say, 3rd century A.D. to the 6th century A.D. with the understanding that some of the earliest compositions could be marginally earlier to the anterior limit, in much the same way as some, now included among the Sangam works, would fall outside the posterior limit.

A peculiar idiosyncrasy notable amidst the ruling heads mentioned in some of the Sangam classics is the deliberate tendency to boast of a legendary supremacy over some of the Āryan Kings of the North, or over Āryāvarta in general. We have such grandiose titles as Āriyappaḍai-Kaḍanda-Nedunjeliyan, or Imayavaramban-Śeralādan. No doubt, we might not entirely rule out some tenuous links or transactions which the Kings of Tamil country and of the North could have had in that period. An almost mythical claim in one such instance attributes to a Cera King the achievement of having billeted the Epic armies during the Mahābhārata war. Archaeologists do not now dispute the fact that the Mahābhārata war could not have taken place earlier—nor much

later—than the very beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C., as is being increasingly conceded on the basis of the archaeological investigations at Hastinapura and some other towns of like antiquity in the Western Gangetic basin. Thus, we could draw our own conclusions for this practice, that these titles could indeed be a measure of a seemingly close contact that was afforded between the South and the North, and how, in such a relationship, it is quite feasible to imagine the intrusive impacts of Northerners in the Tamil country itself. Sangam classics speak of concentration of Āryans in some towns of Tamilnād. The adventurous Samudragupta who was able to plan and execute a whirlwind *Digvijaya* campaign right across and around the South Indian peninsula upto Kāñci could probably not have done it but for well-established contacts already available in these terrains for quasi-military and cultural programmes. At the same time, the lack of any major political or cultural outcome of Samudragupta's campaign, in so far as the South is concerned, would further tend to suggest that the various political and social entities which were operative at that time in the South, particularly in Tamilnād, had not been especially warm in receiving the campaigners from North; and South of Kāñci, moreover, no episode is mentioned. The country of the triple Kings, Cera, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya, would appear to have managed to maintain a rather exclusive political hierarchy in deep South and no power-vacuum wherein a further Northern Kingdom or a peripheral dynasty could intrude was existing.

A keen participation of political dynasties with larger ambitions than manifest till the Gupta period was witnessed only from the advent of the Pallavas of Kāñci, of the Simha Viṣṇu line, whereafter we find Kadambas, Cāḷukyas, Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas interlocked in a perpetually changing partisan grouping for the maintenance of the power-balance in Tamilnād, between the 6th and the 9th century A.D. The political interest of all the above dynasties except the Cāḷukyas did not exceed their own chosen geographical spheres and, in so far as the Tamilnād is concerned, it was indeed to leap into pan-Indian political hegemony only from the advent of the Imperial Cōḷas. The reason for the triple Tamil Kingdoms showing, a hazy and mythical link with Northern Kingdom and at the same time not having been found to have crossed their own geographical territories in aggrandising campaigns in early history, is to be searched for in the inevitable

pattern of nucleating centres of balance of power that had been operating in different parts of South India in the period 300-1200 A.D. It had been given only to the ruthless and insidious inroads made by Islamic powers into South India, to a very much lesser degree than in the North, to shake the Kingdoms from their self-defeating political proclivities and to force them to unite against an erosion of their cultural and political rights by alien hordes. The nucleating power-centres were located in the deep South in the tri-junction of the Cēra-Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyan Kingdoms, in the traditional Kongu tract; in lower Deccan in the Tunga-bhadrā valley; and in the Upper Deccan in the Gōdavari-Narmadā Doab. Traditional rivalries of Tamil Kingdoms with palpably outside powers were kept more or less without conspicuous change or shift, but within their own areas, changing of sides was as common as the change of seasons.

The early Tamil history is primarily the conspectus of who, among the four prime royal dynasties (including the Pallavas) of the zone, was holding the upper hand, at any given time. The lower Deccan axis demonstrated a live and recurring pattern of impact with the Karṇāṭaka area on the one hand, and the Upper Deccan Vākāṭaka-Kalacūri zone and the Kōsala-Kalinga Kingdom on the Eastern seaboard, on the other. This continued well into the mediaeval period, even after the consolidation of Muslim rule in some parts of South India. The Cālukyas, Raṣṭrakūṭas, Kalacūris, Naḷas, Kadambas and Viṣṇukunḍins were the participants in the earlier stage of this process; the Raṣṭrakūṭas, Gangas, Later Cālukyas and Yādavas, in the second stage; and the Vijayanagar Kings, the Kākatiyas and the Kalinga-Kēsari Kings were notable in the last stage. It would be unreasonable to rule out the uniting and dividing effect of geography that was at the very base of such political behaviour on the part of the dynasties of South India, and we find that a tendency to assert one's personality by a show of military might was primarily the cause of such recurring conflicts wherein, the common folk, as it were, continued to be uninvolved, if not entirely unmolested spectators, notwithstanding periods of crisis and economic stress consequent upon sieges of a protracted character. The periodic participation of the political dynasties of the Deccan, in a punitive campaign or a regular invasion of the Tamil Kingdom was apparently to enlarge the royal coffers with the wealth of Tamilnād and contract a matrimonial

alliance in the bargain, and for gaining a Kinship for future interest in the fortunes of the concerned Tamil Kingdoms.

Religion also played a part to some extent, as when two dynasties had become ardent patrons of Jainism and were willing to promote this religion in all the areas they conquered. Notwithstanding all this, it is rather remarkable that the Tamil Kingdoms, alone among the dynasties of South India, were able to preserve their own conservatism better, and on the cultural plane, initiate and sustain many architectural and artistic enterprises displaying a unitary growth over the centuries, unaffected by the developments of a heterogeneous character going on the peripheral tracts. A sea-change in such a rather smug state of affairs, came about only from c. 1000 A.D. Thereafter, the fortunes of Tamilnād were less and less at the entire control of local dynasties, and a more liberal regionalism or quasi-federal, political and cultural texture was evolved, with the regional trends in the greater part of Southern India coming into close association with one another. The cementing factor was of course renascent Hindu religion and an urge to survive. Thus, while the *geographical* factor was almost in supreme control of cultural pattern in the *earliest* stages, *political* hegemonies took its place in the *intermediate* phase; and liberalised and broad-based *religious* affiliations proved effective in the evolved phase. Throughout, may it be noted, notwithstanding an almost total assimilation of Āryan trends, cultures, and creeds into the Tamil matrix, a direct political alliance or nexus with any of the Northern Kingdoms had been all but non-existent.

On the plane of religions and cults, we do indeed observe a lacuna in Tamilnād in the pre-Christian centuries and the opening of the Christian era. We know that Buddhism had been flourishing with considerable popularity in the coastal Āndhra country from Guṇṭūr to Viśākhapaṭṇam with a continuous chain of settlements, monasteries and stūpas in this tract. Obviously, the maritime movements from Kalinga and Simhala along the Bay of Bengal coast had been conducive to Buddhist religious dispersal. It is certainly upheld by the inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda, Bhaṭṭiprolu, Ghantaśāla, Sālihundam etc., that countries from far and near had been mingling in a religio-cultural stream under the Mahāyāna banner, in the live centres of the lower Āndhra Dēsa. On the contrary, at this very period, we do not have a like Bud-

dhist activity in the Tamil country, coastal or in the interior. While, no doubt, even in Āndhra Pradesh, Buddhism had been flourishing chiefly in riparian tracts and fertile rice bowls of the Sircars, unlike the centres in Upper Deccan which were in the hilly interior secluded within the sylvan ridges of the Trap country, a similar fertile coastal strip of the Tamil country itself had not drawn Buddhistic impulses in early periods. It would not be too far afield to lay the reason for such a phenomenon at the doors of the local people then inhabiting the country, who had apparently defended their own cults stoutly against any such intrusions.

As we see later, in the centuries that followed the tenuous Sātavāhana hold over the Tamil country, when early Pallavas were ruling in lower Āndhra Pradesh, ritual Brāhmanism had been the most dominant element, apart from indigenous cult-practices of an un-coordinated, animistic and naturalistic kind. Before the Pallavas under Simhaviṣṇu line established their rule at Kāñcīpuram, we appear to have had a *Kalavara* interregnum when the Brāhmanical institutions had been under severe repressive attack and spoliation. These Kalavaras (mentioned as Kalavarakōmān and Kalavaraperumān in late Sangam literature) were held to have had their chief seat around Venkaṭam hills,⁴³ with Pulḷi as one of their better known chieftains, and their sudden onslaught on Tamil country at the time was held to have been cataclysmic and was apparently of a predatory type, and not necessarily anti-brāhmanical. The Simhaviṣṇu line closely follows this period of disorder. The so-called Sangam classics would seem to be, by their subject matter, style, incidents and cults mentioned therein, suggestive of a kind of ill-assimilated admixture of Āryan ritual and other elements into the indigenous matrix. These have no direct relationship by way of either vocabulary or script with the Brahmi label and short inscriptions found in the many cave-resorts of ascetics in Tamil country. The earliest of these Brahmi cave-records are generally taken as belonging to the last century before Christ. If they are so, then they certainly lend a greater plausibility for their affiliations with an early dispersal of ascetic Jainism, rather than Buddhism, into the Tamil country, because most of the records are making direct references to the rock-cut

43. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Prof. S. — *History of Tamil Language and Literature (Beginning to 1000 A.D.)* — Madras (1956).

beds made apparently for Jain ascetics who were performing austerities there. Of these records, as Vaiyapuri Pillai⁴⁴ says, "the tendency to reduce all declensions to one type, absence of dual members, assimilation taking place of conjunct consonants, disappearance of some sounds, existence of short vowels ě & ǒ and the avoidance of final consonants are some of the points of agreement between Tamil and Jain Prakrit (notably Ardhamagadhi)."

The earliest reference to the establishment of a *Dramila Sangha* at Madurai under Vajranandi happened in 468 A.D.⁴⁵ It is very significant that there is an important reference to a Vajranandi Guru in the earliest Tamil record now known, namely, Pallankoil grant⁴⁶ and it is quite likely that the Vajranandi of *Dramila Sangha* and of the Pallava grant are one and the same. If so, we may have some means of narrowing the date of 6th year of Pallava Simhavarman. For, assuming that Vajranandi might have been of an advanced age, say between 60 and 70 when the Pallava grant was made, and considering that *Dramila Sangha* took place in 470 A.D., when Vajranandi would have been a youth, we may be able to place Simha Varman in the first two decades of the 6th century A.D. quite convincingly. This date, however, does not tally with the other Jain tradition contained in the preamble to the Jain work *Lōka Vibhāga* that the work was copied by Sarvanandi in the village of *Pāṭalika* in Panaraṣṭra (modern Tiruppapuliūr, near Cuddalore N.T.) in Śaka 380 (=458 A.D.) and corresponding to the 22nd regnal year of Simha Varman, King of Kāñci. The year 458 A.D. would perhaps indicate that Sarvanandi was just anterior to the time of Vajranandi (who called the Madurai Sangahm in 468 A.D. when he became the chief Pontiff, perhaps, among the Southern Jains). But it would not be coeval with 22nd year of Simha Varman, since even the 6th year of Simha Varman could be only in the 2nd decade of the 6th century A.D. Thus we are led to think that either

44. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

45. See E. P. Rico — *History of Canarese Literature*, p. 24; also J.B.B.R.A.S., XVII, i, p. 74: 'Siri punjja pada Siri Davida Sangassa Karajovuttho Namena Vajjanandi pahudavedi Mahasatti Panchasaya chavise Vikkama rayassa maranapattasa Dakkhine Madura jado.....'

46. T. N. Subramanian — *The Pallankoil Jaina Copper-plate grant of Early Pallava period* — *Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59, pp. 41-43 and pl. XII — XV.

the date of the Pallava King was given inaccurately in *Loka Vibhaga* work—which is just very likely considering the nature of this work—or the Pallankovil grant is in error in its King, the regnal year and the Jain monk mentioned in it—which is highly improbable and may be eliminated. All this would, of course, not arise, if the Vajranandi of Dramila Sangha and of the Pallava grant are two different persons which is possible but not probable.

The donors of the cave-records, were found often of the trading class or craftsmen. The Buddhist inroads into Tamilnād, as a matter of fact, seem to have happened only during the Kālavara interlude, since we do find in *Matta-Vilasa-Prahasana* of Mahēndra Pallava (585-630 A.D.) clear and direct reference to Buddhists and their activities at Kāñci—a fact also attested to in the pilgrim records of Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese traveller of the mid-7th century A.D. The linguistic gap, between the earlier group of the rock-cavern records of the Southern Brahmi variety (as employed in Asokan edicts of South and Buddhist records of Bhattiprolu), and the earliest records of the Pallavas, e.g., the Pallankovil grant of Simha Varman (which is incidentally a grant of land etc. to Jain institutions at Paruttikkunru⁴⁷ around Kāñci, although its find spot was in the lower Cōḷa country) would show that the period intervening had produced the ideal context for the growth of language and literature, and the compilation of grammar. Thus, the core of the Sangam literature,⁴⁸ would appear to pertain to the second-fifth centuries of the Christian era.

The language of the cavern records was certainly Tamil and was having certain characteristics which completely disappear by the time of Simhaviṣṇu. Also disappears the popularity of Jainism. Thus, the advent of Āryan cult elements from the North

47. *Ibid.*

48. It is interesting to note here that the word Sangam does not find usage in the classical Tamil literature as referring to the Madurai Sangams until the 9th-10th centuries A.D. and these classics were largely known as "the Songs and idylls" (*Pāṭṭu* and *Togai*). Thus the term 'Sangam' literature as representing the early Tamil literary tradition and heritage, is itself a later appellation and anachronistic, to a degree, in its application to the early Tamil classics. The word was perhaps coined by the Jains first, as they called their assemblies and groups Sangha, e.g., the Dramila Sangha of Vajranandi at Madurai, already mentioned.

into the Tamil country has to be fixed in the opening centuries of the Christian era and the indigenous people had already been noted for their maritime trade, their sturdy individualism and their cohesive nature which prevented even Aśoka from penetrating their regions for proselytization. By the same token, we may think that the highly ethical—moral core of the early Tamil literary stratum reflects more a pervasive Jain influence than that of Buddhism. Thus, we find that even in the diffusion of cults, Jainism had apparently reached the less hospitable hill tracts of Tamilnād earlier and had perhaps followed a route through the Mysore tract where the Gangas had already been patronising them in the fourth-fifth centuries A.D. and earlier. And then they moved across Chittoor District, and North Arcot District, where, all along, we perceive the vestiges of a string of Jain settlements,⁴⁹ cavern-records and traditions.

The cults of the indigenous people, on the other hand, had been already imported by the Dravidian-speaking elements and had a hard core of Northern concepts. The sea-god, the hill-god, the god of war etc. are all the vestiges⁵⁰ of Āryanism and it was the basal matrix already underlying the Dravidian stratum that had conferred on them a local flavour. While all these activities were visible in the literature that has come down to us, the material culture of the people had been reflected mainly in the burial practices adopted by them. These are of various kinds and involved some elements which had presumably been learnt during their overseas trade contacts in other maritime countries. The opulence of iron, gold and bronze materials visible from some at least of these burials would go to show that the cult of the dead had a greater vogue than the divine cults. These, thus, form part of the basal strata of *Lesser* traditions of the land over which the *Greater* tradition of the cult of vedic and brahmanical Gods impinged, and almost overnight burial customs came largely to be given up and cremation started, with Agni as the chief God of sacrifice as well as funeral, and with Śiva and Skanda closely

49. The Jain Caves at Vellimalai, Arpakkam, Tirumalai etc., are proofs of this.

50. The earliest group of Northern *dikpālas* consisted of Kubēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama.

affiliated to him. If anything, the way in which Kārttikēya had been taken as an indigenous Tamil God would show trends which were related to the distant Vēdic Rudra and Agni traditions, and to the added fact that Kārttikeya had already been very popular in Western India under the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. The religion, thus, of the early Tamils was not much more than a group of myths and cults, which always had an indigenous colour imparted to them after the concepts had come into their fold, and were, at best, forms of folk lore, operating under a combination of naturalistic, animistic and totemistic features. What is perhaps more interesting is that they do not reflect any animus to Northern traditions that influenced and transmuted them.

The socio-cultural evidence of the Tamil country from the time of its semi-urban origins, would show an inextricable inter-fusion of the Northern elements, and would not go to sustain any special individuality to the present inhabitants of Tamilnād. It is the *indirect* character of the diffusion of this heritage that tends to produce a local and seemingly autochthonous veneer to its matrix, which is due to its progenitors having been the contemporaries to the Northern groups, long ago in the latter's own zone, and their having developed, over the centuries, a degree of diversity in social traditions. The moorings, however, reveal many common linguistic, and cultural traits and background between the North and the South. An appreciation of this would augur well for a reunion of hearts on their parts to-day at the national level.

The Portuguese on the Deccan (Konkan) Coast : Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

BY

P. M. JOSHI

I

Portuguese beginnings in India

The discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama was the culmination of the brilliant painstaking attempts made by the Portuguese to unroll the map of the world. The renaissance in Europe had equipped this gallant nation to take advantage of the natural opportunities opened to it by its geographical position on the Atlantic sea-board. Under the inspiring guidance of Prince Henry the Navigator, annual expeditions were fitted out in Portugal and sent to explore the coast of Africa in an endeavour to reach India. But the task was of great magnitude and remained incomplete during the life time of Prince Henry. By the rounding of the Cape of Storms, later to be known as the Cape of Good Hope, in 1487 by Bortholomew Diaz and by the arrival of Vasco da Gama eleven years later at Calicut the route to the East which Portugal was so long seeking was at least discovered.

The first point on the Bombay coast occupied by the Portuguese was the small island of Anjediva (14 44'N 74 10'E) off Karwar. Here Vasco da Gama anchored on September 24, 1498 on his way from Calicut to Portugal. The island was at this time in the nominal possession of the Raja of Honawar, a tributary of the King of Vijayanagar. He seems to have raised no objections to the Portuguese occupying the island and in 1505 Francisco d Almeida fortified the place. Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, as a precaution against Portuguese encroachment on the mainland, garrisoned the fort of Sadashivgad nearby. This fort was on northern side of the Kali-nadi or the Cintacora river which marked the boundary between the Bijapur and Vijayanagar kingdoms. Anjediva served as a watering place and a station for repairing Portuguese ships

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till 1510 when after the conquest of Goa it fell into disuse. The island remained a Portuguese possession till the end of 1961.

At first the Portuguese had merely sent out annual fleets to India in the hope that they would destroy Muhammadan shipping and obtain for themselves the trade of the Arabian Sea. This was soon found impossible. The new Portuguese policy was, therefore, to build fortresses and to hold the strategic centres from which they could command the seas and control the trade either at its source or at its destination, preferably at both. By 1505 the Portuguese, under Almeida, had built forts at Cochin and Cannanore and were thus able to get a hold over the trade of the Malabar coast. But Almeida's policy, conceived in caution was not calculated to establish Portuguese supremacy in the Arabian Sea. He was content with holding the Malabar coast. As against this, Albuquerque built up visions of Portuguese supremacy not only in the Arabian Sea but also in the Spice islands of the Far East. He conquered Calicut and Goa, the two ports on the Malabar coast through which most of the trade passed. In the Persian Gulf he occupied Ormuz and though he failed to fortify Aden, it did not materially affected his policy, for he had already occupied the island of Socotra which controlled the bottle-neck entrance to the Red Sea.

Almeida's activity had alarmed the Muhammadan powers surrounding the Arabian Sea. Till the advent of the Portuguese in Indian waters the trade of the Malabar and Gujarat ports used to be in the hands of Arab seamen and merchants. They took Indian merchandise from Calicut, Cannanore, Goa, Dabhol, Chaul, Cambay and other ports to the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea ports where it used to be distributed overland to its destination. That meant for Europe passed overland through Egypt and was taken over by Venetian, Genoese and other European merchants who paid heavy dues to keep in their hands the monopoly of this profitable commerce. The irruption of Portuguese into it caused great annoyance to all those who hitherto engaged in it. Also the Indian kingdoms on the western sea-coast of the country, Gujarat, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were alarmed that the intruders would attempt at the northern sea-ports what they had so successfully achieved at the southern. They had already established factories at Cannanore and Cochin, had appointed in Almeida a resi-

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dent viceroy and had kept a standing fleet on the Malabar coast. This was already hampering the trade of the native kingdoms with Malabar ports, the Maldivs and Ceylon. An extension of the Portuguese system to the northern ports of Deccan and Gujarat would have further curtailed native trading activities. When, therefore, an initiative came from the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt to put a check to the expanding zeal of the Portuguese, the Sultans of Gujarat, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were not unwilling to make common cause with him. The struggle against the Portuguese commenced in 1507 when Qansawh-al-Ghawri, the last Mamluk Sultan of Egypt decided to send an expedition to the Indian coast to chastise the Portuguese. He fitted up a fleet and placing it in charge of Amir Husain, Governor of Jedda, sent it towards India. On the Egyptian fleet arriving at Div it was joined by the Gujarat contingent of light coasting craft commanded by Malik Ayaz, the governor of Junagadh and Div under Sultan Muhammad Begda. The combined fleets then cruised down the coast. It is possible they were joined on their voyage south by such contingent of ships as the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were able to provide.

The Portuguese fleet under Dom Laurenco d'Almeida, the brave and popular son of the Portuguese Viceroy, was at this time (December 1507) ordered to go up to the Gujarat coast on a reconnoitering expedition. Dom Laurenco had no information about the combined fleet that was coming down the coast in search of the Portuguese. As Laurenco's ships lay in the estuary of the Nizamshahi port of Chaul, news was brought to him of this joint fleet making its way south to meet him. Laurenco's officers advised him to wait for the enemy at Chaul instead of going out in the open sea. Here the Portuguese were attacked by the joint fleet, a great naval battle took place for three days in which young Laurenco lost his life and his fleet was completely routed (January 1508). Almeida's grief at his personal bereavement was great, but his grief at the bitter blow to Portuguese prestige in India was greater still.

To avenge the death of his son and to repair the damage to the pride of his nation, Almeida decided to act without delay. Towards the end of 1508 he assembled a powerful fleet and after sacking the Adilshahi port of Dabhol, he moved northwards. In

the meanwhile Amir Husain who, after his victory at Chaul had gone to Hormuz, returned with his fleet to Div. The Gujaratis and Egyptians were this time joined by a contingent from Calicut. Almeida made a desperate attack on his enemies, he sunk many of their ships and completely broke up the combined fleets (February, 1509). The Portuguese Viceroy thus rehabilitated the prestige of his nation.¹ Henceforward the Portuguese were supreme in the Arabian Sea.

II

The Adilshahs and the Portuguese

Portuguese conquest of Goa: The sultan of Bijapur had taken an active share in the Muhammadan alliance that had defeated the Portuguese fleet off Chaul.² The Portuguese could hardly expect better justification to declare hostilities against Bijapur. Almeida made this clear. In 1508 on his way to Diu he halted at the Adilshahi port of Dabhol, at this time second in importance only to Goa as a trade centre but negligible as a naval base. As a reprisal against Bijapur's share in the Portuguese defeat at Chaul, Almeida decided to attack it. The Muhammadans were driven back and the Portuguese occupied the harbour (December 30, 1508). Almeida himself slept in the principal mosque of the town that night. Next morning the victors set the buildings of the town on fire and returned to their ships.³ Bijapur's utter weakness to defend its coast became evident.

Albuquerque succeeded Almeida as the governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East. He at once launched the forward policy which he advocated and prepared for an expedition to the Red Sea. He was, however, persuaded by Timoja, a naval officer of Vijayanagar, to abandon the project and to turn his attention to the nearer port of Goa.⁴ Albuquerque did not require

1. This and the preceding two paragraphs are based on *The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century*, by M. Longworth Dames and *The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507-1517*, by E. Denison Ross. JRAS., 1921, 1-28, 544-562.

2. *Tuhfat*, 91-92.

3. Faria I., 142-44; Osorio I., 343-44; Barbosa I., 166.

4. Faria I., 162.

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much persuasion; he had already marked Goa as a future Portuguese possession. Strategically the position of Goa had every possible advantage from a Portuguese standpoint. It offered the combination of a natural harbour and a natural fortress which would sooner or later be necessary at some place on the coast, if Albuquerque's policy of making India the principal region of the commercial activity of the Portuguese in the East was to succeed. Goa was more favourably situated than Calicut or Cochin so far as the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was concerned, and it was for this reason that Albuquerque desired to possess it. It was, at this time, the most important port on the Malabar coast, both on account of its trade and its situation. Its proximity to the Deccan sultanates and Vijayanagar gave it added importance as a commercial centre. Almeida's policy was to have a strong navy without a desire to hold the ports. Perhaps that is why when Dabhol had nearly surrendered to him in 1508, he did not establish a factory there nor demand any other territorial concessions. But Albuquerque's policy was different, he wanted not only a strong navy, but he also wanted the possession of the ports which commanded the trade of the East. The conquest of Goa, therefore, was an essential factor in Albuquerque's policy. He sailed from Cannanore to attack Goa early in 1510. It proved an easy prey. The fortress of Panjim which guards the harbour was carried by assault and the city surrendered on February 17, 1510.⁵

It redounds to the credit of Yusuf Adil Shah that he decided to recover Goa. Undaunted by the proved superiority of the Portuguese, in May of the same year, he forced his way into the island of Goa. Fortune favoured him. His courage and determination won for him the admiration of the inhabitants of the port. Loyal to Yusuf Adil Shah, they rose in an insurrection against their new masters. Albuquerque was advised by his officers to withdraw to the ships. Once in the sea the Portuguese were safe. They set sail for Cannanore and Goa was recovered by Bijapur.⁶ But this advantage was short lived. In October 1510 Yusuf Adil Shah died and this paved the way for Albuquerque's final conquest of Goa.

5. Ferishta II., 21; BS 22; Osorio II, 4; Prestage, 41.

6. Ferishta II., 21; BS 22; Faria I., 165-67; *Tuhfat*, 101.

It will be remembered that Albuquerque's policy in the East depended for its success upon the holding of certain strategic posts—Ormuz to command the entrance to the Persian Gulf; Malacca to control the spice trade at its source and Goa which gave him the command of the Malabar waters. At the time of Yusuf Adil Shah's death Albuquerque was in Cannanore re-organizing his fleet for another attack on Goa. When he heard of the death of Yusuf and also ascertained that almost all the garrison at Goa had gone to Bijapur to attend the coronation ceremony of Ismail, he decided to strike, and set sail for Goa early in November. On the 25th of that month he stormed the harbour, gained an easy entrance into the city and became master of the place.⁷ Thus was Goa conquered by the Portuguese.

Peace with the Portuguese was essential even if it meant the loss of Goa. Albuquerque had definitely gained the upper hand and he had also discovered the utter weakness of Bijapur in naval warfare. He threatened to attack Dabhol and Sangameshwar, two of the Adilshahi ports, if attempts were made to recapture Goa. There was also the danger of the Portuguese interfering with the supply of horses if hostilities continued. In fact Albuquerque was in communication with Vijayanagar on this topic. Kamal Khan, the regent at Bijapur had, therefore, no choice but to recognise the Portuguese occupation of Goa. On his part Albuquerque agreed to maintain peace and to allow horses to pass into the Adilshahi kingdom as before.⁸

Factors determining the Relations: The relations between Bijapur and Goa can best be described as being peaceful without being friendly. No doubt attempts were made more than once by the Adilshahi Sultans to dislodge the Portuguese from Goa. But all their efforts, with one solitary exception, were futile and hostilities usually ended with an agreement of peace between the neighbours, negotiations for which were always initiated by the Muhammadans. There were sound reasons why the kings of Bijapur followed a policy of conciliation towards the Portuguese.

7. Ferishta II., 24; Letters III., viii.

8. *Commentaries* IV., 125-28; Letters II. xxvii., IV. civ; Whiteway 134-35; Ferishta II., 24; BS 27.

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Bijapur was always at war with its neighbouring sultanates and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar; and in their warfare cavalry formed an important unit of the army. It was, therefore, imperative for Bijapur to maintain an efficient cavalry always ready for action. This necessitated a regular supply of horses which had to be imported from Arabia and Persia. And when the Portuguese came to India and became masters of the Arabian Sea, the Deccan sultanates and Vijayanagar vied with each other to obtain the friendship of the Portuguese and to ensure for themselves a constant supply of horses to keep their cavalry in efficient fighting condition. Goa was the most important port in the Deccan, and its masters, the Portuguese were strategically in a very strong position. The Muhammadans, though excellent traders, were weak fighters at sea and their attempt to drive the Portuguese out of Indian waters was frustrated. The sultans of Bijapur recognised this weakness and strove to maintain the friendship of the Portuguese. The Portuguese on their part knew the weakness of Bijapur and the other maritime powers of India and were ever ready to use it to the best advantage. Bijapur's competitor for the friendship of the Portuguese was the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. In fact it was one of its officials that first instigated Albuquerque to conquer Goa from Yusuf Adil Shah, hoping that in return the Portuguese would send all horses arriving at Goa to Vijayanagar. But Bijapur, aware of the implications of the friendship between the Portuguese and the Hindus, chose to give up its claim to Goa rather than suffer a shortage of horses for its cavalry which, as Albuquerque so shrewdly observed, was "the Principal spring of its defensive policy."⁹

Moreover, when the Portuguese became masters of the Arabian Sea they imposed stringent restrictions on other traders. It was impossible for Muhammadan ships, Indian or Arab, to navigate the Arabian Sea without permits from the Portuguese authorities. In issuing these permits, they prohibited the Muhammadan traders from carrying pepper, arms and other ammunitions of war,¹⁰ and also arrogated to themselves the power of searching any ship suspected of being engaged in 'contraband' trade. Albuquerque even went to the extent of asking the Sultan of Ormuz

9. *Commentaries* IV., 125.

10. *Barbosa* II., 227.

to show preference to Portuguese ships over Muhammadan.¹¹ The trade in horses, therefore, could only be carried by the Portuguese or by the ships of a state which was friendly to them. After the loss of Goa, the port of Dabhol was left to Bijapur, but it could not be used to import horses into the kingdom, if Bijapur was at war with the Portuguese.¹² The Portuguese had thus acquired a virtual monopoly of this most important trade and the sultans of Bijapur had no choice at all but to seek their friendship.

There was another factor which influenced Bijapur's policy towards the Portuguese. When Bijapur was at peace with the Portuguese, the Muhammadans were allowed to ply their trade between the Adilshahi ports and Persia and Arabia. Their ships brought Pardesi emigrants from overseas into the kingdom, to join its armies and enhance its strength, as in the days of the Bahmanis. Hostility with the Portuguese meant not only complete stoppage in the supply of horses, but also a reduction in the number of Pardesi recruits in the Adilshahi army. Peace with the Portuguese, if not their friendship, was therefore, absolutely essential for Bijapur.¹³

Description of the Horse trade: The Persian chronicles are completely silent about the trade in horses between Bijapur and Persia and Arabia, but European travellers from Marco Polo onwards give us interesting information about it. Apart from its military importance, this trade was extremely lucrative to the Portuguese and in controlling it they were serving a double purpose: they could dictate the relations between Bijapur and Goa and could collect handsome revenue by way of customs duty on the horses that came into Goa to be carried into the Deccan sultanates and Vijayanagar.

It is difficult to determine accurately the number of horses that were annually brought to Goa. According to Barbosa the number varied between one to two thousand.¹⁴ It is certain, how-

11. Biker I., 5a.

12. Cf. *Commentaries* III., 40, *Letters* III., xli.

13. Cf. "Cabayo desires your peace ... because in losing Dabhol he is altogether lost, for by no other way can horses come in, nor white men to reform his camp." *Letters* III., xli 'White men' refers to the Pardesi Muhammadans coming into the Deccan.

14. Barbosa I., 94.

ever, that almost all the horses required by Bijapur passed through this port. The trade was a private one carried by Arab, Persian and sometimes Indian merchants. The horses were unloaded at Goa where dealers came from Bijapur, Vijayanagar, Ahmadnagar and even Golconda to buy them¹⁵ and carry them to their respective kingdoms to be sold to the various cavalries.

The horses were carried in ships that came to India with other merchandise. A cover of hides was spread over the cargo when loaded and on the top of this were placed the horses.¹⁶ The number carried in each ship depended on its size. The Portuguese ships being bigger than the Muhammadan ships could accommodate a great number. The Portuguese ship in which Caesar Frederick travelled from Ormuz to Goa (1563) carried a cargo of eighty horses. However, not all the horses that embarked at Ormuz or Aden reached their destination. Nearly ten percent or sometimes more of their number perished on the voyage. This fact no doubt influenced the price of horses sold at Goa.

The average price of a horse sold in Goa was in the neighbourhood of £ 150, but prices ranged from £ 100 to £ 200 per horse according to the breed, and Arabian horses fetched more than Persian. Sometimes a specially good horse fetched even a higher price.¹⁷ What was of importance to the Portuguese, however, was the duty paid on these horses. They were allowed to be landed into Goa free of duty, but when they were being taken away by the dealers who bought them, the Portuguese authorities levied a duty of forty pagodas on each horse.¹⁸ And when, after the fall of Vijayanagar, this trade showed a decline the Portuguese sought to revive it by abolishing customs duty on the merchandise of those ships that also imported horses.¹⁹ The concentration of

15. Barbosa I., 178; Pyrard II., 67.

16. Marco Polo I, 117. cf. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay: "Till the last few years when steamers have begun to take all the best horses, the Arab horses bound for Bombay almost all came in the way Marco Polo describes." *ibid.*, note 3.

17. All accounts are agreed on the high price of horses at Goa and give approximately the same figures. Marco Polo I., 83; Varthema, 126; Barbosa I. 65, 94, 178; Nuniz, Sewell, 307; Caesar Frederick, Hakluyt II. 346; Linschoten I, 54; Pyrard II. 67; Mandelslo, 8.

18. Barbosa I., 178; Caesar Frederick, Hakluyt II., 346; Couto IV. vi. 6,

19. William Barret, Hakluyt II., 410.

the horse trade at Goa attracted to that port the rest of the trade, since the ships that brought horses also brought merchandise. This was what the Portuguese were aiming at.

Ibrahim Adil Shah I and the Portuguese: For twenty-five years, relations between Bijapur and Goa remained friendly. In 1545 prince Abdullah, the brother of Ibrahim Adil Shah I, made an unsuccessful attempt to usurp the Adilshahi throne, and had to fly to Goa to escape the wrath of his brother. This ultimately brought Bijapur and Goa into conflict. Ibrahim offered to cede to the Portuguese the districts of Salsette and Bardez, adjoining Goa, in return for the person of the rebel prince. Martim Affonso, the Portuguese governor, refused the request as it violated the standards of hospitality. He, however, suggested that in return for the two districts he would send the prince to Malacca. But Affonso was deterred by his advisers from fulfilling even this condition as they considered Abdullah a useful instrument to hold Ibrahim in check and to extort from him further benefits. The result was that the prince was carried from Goa to Cannanore and back to Goa.²⁰ At the same time the Portuguese took possession of Salsette and Bardez.

Too late Ibrahim discovered that he had been outwitted by the Portuguese. In the meanwhile Martim Affonso had left for Portugal and his place was taken by Dom Joao de Castro. Ibrahim had to start negotiations over again. But the Portuguese attitude was firm and he failed to have his way. The utmost Dom Joao de Castro was prepared to do was to undertake to keep the prince in Goa and prevent him from communicating with the sultan of Ahmadnagar or other powers hostile to Bijapur. In return Ibrahim had to relinquish his claims to Salsette and Bardez. Ibrahim accepted these terms only to violate them when he found the Portuguese engaged on the Gujarat coast. He led his army into the districts in dispute and occupied them.²¹

When the news of the Adilshahi incursion reached Dom Joao de Castro, he had concluded his campaign on the Gujarat coast and was returning to Goa. He retaliated by surprising the Bija-

20. Faria II., 87; Andrada, 28-29; Whiteway, 285-86.

21. Andrada, 30-31, 213; Faria II., 117-18; Danvers I., 475-77.

puri port of. Dabhol, looted it and hastened towards Goa. He succeeded in driving the Bijapuris out of Salsette and Bardez in spite of their repeated attempts to hold the districts. In addition the Portuguese governor decided "to strike where the blow might be most felt" and dispatched a fleet to sack Adilshahi ports, with the result that every port between Srivardhan and Goa was plundered and burnt.²²

These incidents once again bring clearly to our notice the utter weakness of Bijapur—as also of the other Muhammadan powers of India—at sea. Only forty years before this the combined fleets of Egypt, Gujarat and the Deccan had been unable to drive the Portuguese from Indian waters. On the other hand the new comers had succeeded in obtaining a firm footing on the Indian coast by the conquest of Goa. Apart from the transient and solitary success of Yusuf Adil Shah in recovering Goa for a time, all other efforts made by the kings of Bijapur to oust these European intruders from their island possession had been unsuccessful. The Portuguese, too, knew their advantage well and made strategic use of it to retain the possession of Goa and the lands surrounding it. Whenever the Adilshahi army threatened Goa, the Portuguese in their turn would retaliate by attacking the Bijapuri possessions on the coast. In the present struggle when the troops of Bijapur overran Salsette and Bardez, not only were they driven back, but the Portuguese further retorted by devastating Dabhol and other ports. Thus Bijapur could not dictate terms to the Portuguese at Goa, who were fully aware of their superiority at sea and ever ready, if need be, to blockade the Adilshahi ports. It was this fear that always prompted the kings of Bijapur to placate the Portuguese. And in this campaign also we find that it was Ibrahim Adil Shah who made the initial move for peace.

Apart from a desire to safeguard his coastline and maritime trade Ibrahim Adil Shah had another reason for starting negotiations with the Portuguese. During 1546 and 1547 Dom Joao de Castro had concluded with Vijayanagar and Ahmadnagar separate treaties.²³ This forced on Ibrahim the necessity of concluding

²² Andrada, 38-40, 213-14, 222-28; Faria II., 120-21; Danvers I., 479.

²³ Biker II., 184-87, 188-91.

ing a similar agreement with the Portuguese. But Dom Joao de Castro did not live to see the success of his policy.²⁴ It was his successor Garcia de Sa who signed the treaty (August 22, 1548) by which Ibrahim finally resigned his claim to Salsette and Bardez.²⁵

These two districts adjoining Goa were the first and the only territorial acquisitions of the Portuguese on the mainland of India. Otherwise their ambition was limited to the possession of ports and the command of the coast. They could use their unopposed freedom on sea to approach the shores and enter the ports of India to establish their oceanic sovereignty of trade. But they made little effort to extend their conquests into the interior of the country. The Indian states with whom the Portuguese came into contact were far too strong on land for them to entertain any hopes of large conquest of territory. Moreover, the Portuguese nation was too small to wage successful land warfare in India with a view to establishing a military empire. For impotent though the Indian states might have been on water, they were much too formidable on land to go to pieces under the attack of a handful of Portuguese.

Bijapur and Ahmadnagar: Alliance against the Portuguese: But the Portuguese occupation of Goa was a source of perpetual humiliation to the Adilshahi kings. Repeated treaties and affirmations of mutual friendship did nothing to lessen its rancour. The battle of Talikota had brought home a new lesson to the Deccan sultanates, the advantage of concerted action. And this encouraged Bijapur and Ahmadnagar to make one final effort to dislodge the Portuguese from the Deccan coast. So long as the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar threatened Bijapur in the south, peace with the Portuguese was essential as they held control over the horse trade; for hostilities between Bijapur and Goa meant a complete diversion of this trade in favour of the Hindus. But after the fall of Vijayanagar the strategic importance of Goa as the centre of this trade naturally declined. Undoubtedly Ali Adil Shah had this fact in mind. In 1570 he entered into negotiations with Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. The Zamorin

24. He died on June 5, 1548. Whiteway, 320.

25. Biker II., 182; Faria II., 132.

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of Calicut also was drawn into the alliance. It was decided that the confederates were to attack simultaneously the Portuguese possession in their respective kingdoms.²⁶ This plan to divide Portuguese strength was both sound and attractive in theory, but it proved of very little effect when put into practice. The Portuguese successfully drove back both the sultans and the Zamorin and once again proved the superiority of their maritime strength.

In January 1570 the offensive against the Portuguese began. Murtaza Nizam Shah advanced on Chaul and laid siege to the place.²⁷ The Adilshahi attack on Goa was more difficult. Chaul was a solitary Portuguese outpost in the Nizamshahi kingdom, accessible by land, whereas Goa was separated from the mainland by the Goa creek and Rachol river.

The Portuguese viceroy had already sent part of his garrison and fleet to the relief of Chaul. Numerically the Portuguese defence was no match for the Bijapuris. But they held the creek and the river and made a gallant stand against the Adilshahi attack led by Ali in person.²⁸ For the better part of a year he invested the island in vain.

In the meanwhile a squadron of the Portuguese fleet had returned from the Malabar coast after defeating the Zamorin.²⁹ This the viceroy sent against Dabhol. The Portuguese fleet sacked Dabhol and once again impressed on the Adilshahi king the fact that the friendship of the Portuguese was essential for the safety of Bijapur ports.

The siege of Chaul fizzled out after seven months.³⁰ The Zamorin had already been defeated. Fresh Portuguese ships arrived from the Persian Gulf and Portugal.³¹ Ali Adil Shah was forced to acknowledge his inability to reduce Goa and the hostilities were

26. Faria II, 281; Danvers I., 551; *Tuhfat*, 162. Cf. Geddes, 26-27; Ferishta does not mention that Ahmadnagar and Bijapur entered into a league. The campaigns against the Portuguese are chronicled separately in the history of each kingdom. Ferishta II., 79, 262.

27. Danvers I., 554; Ferishta II., 262.

28. Faria II., 282-83; Danvers I., 552.

29. Faria II., 288; Danvers I., 555.

30. Ferishta II., 262-63; Danvers I., 560-68.

31. Danvers I., 557; Faria II., 296.

suspended. Ali Adil Shah even sent his ambassadors to Goa to renew the treaty of friendship between Bijapur and the Portuguese.³²

This was the most serious confederacy of the Deccan powers that had ever taken up arms against the Portuguese. But from the outset it was bound to failure. The Portuguese were undoubtedly superior at sea to all the confederates put together. And the sack of Dabhol, on more than one occasion, showed that hostilities with the Portuguese were bound to lead to counter attacks on Deccan ports, and on the maritime trade of the Deccan kingdoms.

Ali Adil Shah and the Portuguese: The treaty of 1570 between Bijapur and Goa was further strengthened by two more treaties between the neighbours during the reign of Ali I. The first concluded in 1575 was a formal document merely confirming previous treaties,³³ though it once again shows how anxious the Bijapuris were to keep the Portuguese in friendly humour. The second signed on 22nd October 1576 was more elaborate and included sixteen main clauses.³⁴ The treaty promised the Adilshah freedom to purchase horses at Hormuz and to land them at Goa for being transported to Bijapur paying the usual customs due of 40 pagodas per horse going from Portuguese territory into Bijapur; it also conceded Ali's demand that lead, copper, sulphur and saltpetre for Adilshahi use should be permitted to pass through the port of Goa. The Portuguese viceroy generally agreed not to molest any Bijapuri ship carrying Portuguese permits and not to resort to forcible conversion of Bijapur nationals passing through Goa.

Soon after this treaty was signed a Portuguese squadron was halting at Dabhol. The officers of this fleet were invited by the Adilshahi officer at that port for a feast and a friendly gathering. On this occasion they were treacherously set upon by assassins hired by their host. A few of the Portuguese succeeded in reaching their ships and reported the matter to Dom Diego de Menezes then vicéroy at Goa. A small fleet was sent to avenge this wrong;

32. Biker II., -26; Faria II., 296; Ferishta II., 79.

33. Biker II., 275-277.

34. Biker II., 279-295.

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it intercepted Bijapuri pilgrim ships returning to Dabhol from Mecca and pillaged coastal towns. These vigorous reprisals brought a prompt offer of peace from Ali Adil Shah who promised to dismiss from his service the offending governor of Dabhol. Peace was concluded on these terms.³⁵

Earlier in his reign Ali I had about 1557 permitted certain priests sent by St. Francis Xavier from Goa to establish a Roman Catholic mission at Mudgal in the Raichur Doab. He granted lands to the mission and exempted it from certain taxes. The Mudgal mission is one of the oldest in the Deccan. A little later in 1560-61, actuated by a desire to understand the principles of the Christian religion, Ali requested the Archbishop at Goa to send to Bijapur some learned members of his church for religious discussions, and we find three Catholic Padres meeting him at Bijapur.³⁶ Of no political significance, their visit throws an interesting side-light on the mystic tendencies which Ali I showed.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II and the Portuguese: From 1580 to 1640 Portugal was a part of the kingdom of Spain, but it was stipulated that the commerce of Africa, Persia and India should be reserved to the Portuguese and carried only in their vessels. Partly to bring home to Bijapur this new arrangement and partly to renew old contracts of friendship, the Portuguese once again entered into an agreement of friendship with the Adilshahi kingdom in January 1582 soon after young Ibrahim succeeded Ali I to the throne at Bijapur.

The relations between Bijapur and Goa throughout the reign of Ibrahim II seem to have been uneventful. By the close of the sixteenth century the Mughals had come into the Deccan. Their advent caused a flutter at Goa. The Portuguese were perhaps the first to apprehend the dangers of the Mughal invasion and accordingly, Mathias de Albuquerque, the viceroy of Goa, sent an embassy to Bijapur, and to hasten an alliance, mentioned to Ibrahim Adil Shah II the evident danger to those kings who could not unite against the common enemy, the Mughals.³⁷ The Por-

35. Danvers II, 21-23.

36. JBHS, I, 158-163. (Journal of the Bombay Historical Society).

37. JBRRAS, NS, I, 122 (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series).

tuguese authorities were aware of the imperialistic designs of Akbar, against which the best preparation seemed a defensive alliance with the neighbouring kingdom. In a letter dated November 26, 1598 from Philip III of Spain to the viceroy, Dom Francisco de Gama we read, "how necessary is the alliance with the neighbouring kings, to defend us all against the Mughal" and in another letter the king writes, "yet since that king (the Mughal Emperor) is very powerful and sagacious, I recommend you to keep your eyes open on his designs and intentions, to prevent them with the necessary remedies".³⁸ In a letter dated January 15, 1602 the Viceroy at Goa, writing to the king of Spain, states the necessity of completely changing Goa's policy towards the Deccan kingdoms; "it behoves to dissimulate everything and encourage them by offering them the favour of the State in order the better to defend them against the enemy who is approaching, and which they do now for they fully comprehend how greatly this is of moment to them."³⁹

The despatches of the Viceroys at Goa to their Home authorities during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627) at Bijapur show a complete awareness of everything that was happening in the Adilshahi kingdom. Soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century two other trading interests, the Dutch and the English, made their appearance in the Deccan. In a despatch of February 15, 1622 from Goa we find that Ibrahim and his other Deccan colleagues were thinking of putting a check on the English and Dutch endeavours with the help of the Portuguese. The Deccan kings "were joined together and resolved upon not affording them an entrance or admit them into their ports, because they were very much scandalised at them, both in respect of the ships which they had taken during the last year, as also because they had been informed that they were not people from whom any wealth could be drawn, nor were they trustworthy, and that they wanted the State to enter into this also in order to work upon them all possible evil."⁴⁰ These attempts to stem the surge of rising commercial enterprise of the Dutch and the English, in helping and fostering which the Portuguese

38. *ibid.*, 123-124.

39. *Corpo Chronologico* III, 227-228.

40. *Books of the Monsoons*, V. 195-196.

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were always willing, proved of no avail. The Dutch and English trading interests prospered and the Portuguese fell into a decline never to regain the vigour that had marked them in their initial stages.

Muhammad Adil Shah and the Portuguese: The Dutch and the English, however, seem to have won over the king of Bijapur to their cause. We find the English doing unhampered trade at Dabhol and the Dutch were even more successful. They knew that the reason behind Bijapur's apparent friendliness towards the Portuguese was its weakness to fight them at sea. This friendliness was diplomatic; behind it was always present a latent animosity and a desire to drive the Portuguese out of Goa. The Dutch shrewdly decided to ply upon these sentiments of the Bijapur Sultan and they sent an ambassador to Bijapur to negotiate a trade agreement and if possible to induce the Sultan to make war on Goa. Van Twist, the Dutch envoy, arrived at Bijapur on February 13, 1637 and was given a *firman* to trade in the Adilshahi dominion and to establish a factory at Vengurla⁴¹ (15°52'N 73°38'E). The Dutch, helped to some extent by Bijapur, succeeded in blockading the port of Goa on more than one occasion and harassing the Portuguese. Ecstasied by these small initial successes, they reported that "the commerce of the Portuguese is at the present moment (end of 1638) in such a very bad condition and if the Almighty deign to bless our efforts the whole of the coast of Malabar will soon be in the power of the Company."⁴²

To have their trade rivals as their next-door neighbours at Vengurla was certainly a disquieting fact for the Portuguese. They considered Bijapur's concessions to the Dutch as tantamount to breaking of the peace treaties existing between Bijapur and Goa.⁴³ There was a sharp exchange of notes between the two governments. Muhammad Adil Shah accused the Portuguese of harassing Adilshahi ships making for Dabhol, of fortifying the border areas between the two states in contravention of agree-

41. *Letters from India*, X, CCCXLIV, CCCXLVIII; *Dagh Register*, JBHS I, 194-195, 203; Danvers II, 262.

42. *Letters from India*, XI, CCCL.

43. *Books of the Monsoons*, XI, 20.

ments and imposing irksome restrictions on the passage of men and goods from Goa into Adilshahi territory. The Portuguese in a vigorous reply made a counter charge that the Dabhol ships were held as prize "because not only did these vessels have on board much pepper, steel and other prohibited goods, but..... they disguised their malice, for not only did they refuse to show their cartazes but attempted to fly and when they saw they could not do so in safety, they took up arms." The Sultan of Bijapur was also accused of trying to hinder Portuguese trade and of encouraging the enemies of Portugal⁴⁴. But the affair did not develop further, possibly the Portuguese were afraid of going to war against Bijapur who now claimed alliance with the Dutch, a naval power. Muhammad Adil Shah was for the next few years fully occupied in a war of expansion in the Karnatak country and it was only towards the close of his reign that he once again turned his attention to the Portuguese.

In the beginning of the year 1654, Muhammad Adil Shah sent an embassy to Goa inviting to his court two of the Jesuit fathers. Accordingly, Fr. Martins was deputed to go to Bijapur with a present for the king. His instructions were to try to prevent war between Bijapur and Goa. But before he could reach Bijapur, Muhammad Adil Shah sent his army against Bardes and Goa, which arrived in the Portuguese territory on August 12, 1654. The Muhammadans first stormed the town of Tivy leading into Bardes. The Portuguese offered resistance but they had to fight against odds and the victory opened to the Bijapurs the gates of Bardes. After this, a stronger Bijapur army turned to Salsette, and captured a few towns. Goa was now blockaded on the landside by the forces of Bijapur and had been reduced to great straits. By this time Goa got reinforcement from Portugal and the invaders hearing of this suddenly withdrew to their own kingdom. About the same time Fr. Martins reached Bijapur and induced the Sultan to stop the war with the result that he gave definite orders to his troops to retreat from the Portuguese territory.⁴⁵ The Adilshahi kingdom did not come into conflict with

44. *Books of the Monsoons*, XIII.

45. *The Indian Historical Records Commission VIII*, 130-144; *Danvers II*, 308-309; *English Factories in India (1651-54)*, 298.

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the Portuguese after this. Shivaji now occupied most of the Adilshahi Konkan and the Portuguese slowly faded out of Deccan politics, though they continued in undisturbed possession of Goa.

III

Nizamshahs and the Portuguese

The Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar with its coast line extending from the Dharamtar or Nagothana creek to the Bankot creek had two good ports, Danda Rajapur and Chaul. Both these were coveted by Albuquerque who seems to have impressed on his master the king of Portugal, the necessity of acquiring them. Writing to his king on the 1st January 1514, Albuquerque states: "I have written to your Highness how Danda is a good place and the chief post for the caracks all to come into it, and has a very small island on which the Moors have a very beautiful fortress, very full of trees and many tanks of water... It seems to me senhor, that we ought to take it, because Chaul and Danda will yield you whatever you may ask."⁴⁶ Albuquerque was also alive to the commercial importance of Chaul and during the last year of his viceroyalty we find Barbosa mentioning "there is ever a factor posted in this place by the Captain and Factor of Goa, that he may send thither to him supplies and other needful things for our fleets."⁴⁷ Albuquerque's successor, Lopo Soares d'Albergaria in 1516 obtained from Burhan Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar permission to establish a regular factor at Chaul. A little later about 1521 the Portuguese were also given permission to build a fort at Revdanda on the northern side of the Chaul estuary.⁴⁸

From the naval battle of Chaul till the alliance of 1570 when the Deccan powers made a futile attempt to dislodge the Portuguese from their coastal possessions, relations between Ahmadnagar and Goa can be said to be of perfect amity. Both the parties found it convenient to remain friends. With a naval station at Chaul the Portuguese could effectively conduct their negotiations with Gujarat. Ahmadnagar, in its turn, menaced constantly

46. *Letters*, III, XLVII; Danvers I, 291.

47. Barbosa I, 162-163.

48. Whiteway, 195; I. Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul* (Bombay, 1876), 34-35.

by war on the Bijapur side and threatened not unfrequently by Gujarat, looked to this new power, the Portuguese, for help. As already indicated, the Portuguese now controlled the trade in horses so necessary for the armies of the Deccan Sultans; and with the Portuguese control of the seas and their system of *cartazas* or permits for vessels navigating in Indian waters the Sultans of Ahmadnagar had of necessity to keep friendly relations with them.

Another and a very important reason for the friendship between these two neighbours was the cordial relationship existing between Garcia de Orta and Burhan Nizam Shah I (1508-1553) of Ahmadnagar. Garcia de Orta arrived in Goa in 1534 as a member of the entourage of Martim Affonso de Sa who later became governor of Goa (1542-1545). Very soon he established most intimate contact with Burhan Nizam Shah. Garcia de Orta, being a doctor by profession, was often invited to Ahmadnagar to treat both the Sultan and his son.⁴⁹ Thus grew the friendship between them and both Burhan and his son studied Portuguese with Garcia de Orta and developed, no doubt, a very friendly attitude towards the Portuguese. This was reflected in the repeated treaties of friendship between Goa and Ahmadnagar, in the help given by the former to the Sultanate in its conflicts with Gujarat and in the complete absence of any warlike atmosphere between them during the life time of Burhan Nizam Shah I.

Burhan I in an agreement⁵⁰ with the Portuguese Viceroy made in 1539 obtained for himself the right "to send to Ormuz for a hundred horses every year, which hundred horses shall go to the port of Chaul." The Viceroy also agreed "that such of his (Nizam Shah's) lands as confine with the lands of Bacaim (Gujarat territory), that I shall always guard, and assist and keep, and defend so that no one shall do any harm or cause any loss." By other clauses of the agreement the Portuguese accepted to abide by the customs regulations of Chaul for private trade and to respect the sanctity of Muslim places of worship in and around Chaul. Strengthened by this agreement, Burhan desired to attack the forts of Karnala and Sankshi (in Kolaba District) and occupy

49. *Colloquies*, 68, 210, 399; JBBRAS, XXVI, 280.

50. Biker I, 132-136.

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the country adjoining them on the Gujarat-Nizamshahi border. The Portuguese seemed to have readily agreed to help Burhan in this adventure and early in 1542 the forts were captured and the country around them occupied by the allies. The Portuguese agreed to hand over these conquests to the Nizamshah and to defend them against Gujarat's attempts to reoccupy them on condition that Burhan paid to them an annual tribute of five thousand pardaos or pagodas.⁵¹ It is difficult to say how long this agreement remained in force. Most probably it fell into disuse sometime after the hostilities of 1570 and the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughals soon after.

The Portuguese on their side were anxious to maintain friendly relations with Ahmadnagar as they were pursuing an aggressive policy on the Gujarat coast and from 1545 onwards were engaged in actual hostilities against Bijapur. This explains the offensive and defensive alliance, the contract which was signed in Goa on the 6th of October 1547.⁵² It is apparent from this document that the main concern of the Portuguese was the Sultan of Bijapur, as it stipulates "that the Governor of India shall not accept or make peace with the Idalcao (Adil Khan), without first making it known to Nizamoxaa (Nizam Shah), and in the same manner the said Nizamoxaa pledges himself not to make peace nor accept the friendship of Idalcao without — first making it known to the Governor of India." The Portuguese were also afraid of the Turks, who were now in occupation of Egypt, and the contract called upon the Nizamshah not to harbour Turkish fleets in his ports and they in their turn agreed not to accept ships of enemies of Ahmadnagar at the port of Goa. By this same contract the Portuguese also agreed to allow five Nizamshahi ships to trade with the Persian Gulf and Red Sea ports and also with Malacca and all along the coast of India.

As already noticed, the alliance against the Portuguese in 1570 in which the Nizamshah had joined resulted in a discomfiture of the Indian kingdoms. Burhan Nizam Shah II seems to have made an attempt in 1592 to oust the Portuguese from

51. Biker I, 160-165; Danvers I, 452-453.

52. Biker II, 188-192.

their stronghold at Chaul, the Revdanda fort. He built a fort across the creek and opposite Revdanda at Korlai from which he hoped to harass the Portuguese. But once again they were successful in holding on to what they had acquired. After this the Portuguese did not come into conflict with Ahmadnagar till the time of Malik Ambar. The Portuguese were at first careful to cultivate his friendship, but it seems they had encroached on some Nizamshahi lands around Chaul and had also avoided paying certain dues. They were also not as generous as in earlier years in giving *cartazas* or permits to Nizamshahi ships to trade with Persian, Arabian and other ports. In January 1613 Malik Ambar sent an envoy to Goa, one Pandurang Senoy, who presented to the Portuguese Governor a list of Malik Ambar's grievances.⁵³ Evidently Malik Ambar was not satisfied with the attitude of the Portuguese to his demands and in 1614 we find his forces laying siege to the Portuguese fort at Chaul.⁵⁴

In the meanwhile Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur perhaps out of an awareness that the Mughal danger threatening the Decan kingdoms was of a far greater magnitude than the Portuguese, used his good offices to bring about peace between the contestants and an agreement of friendship was signed between them in 1615.⁵⁵ Portuguese continued to keep a precarious hold over Chaul till 1740 when it was handed over to the Marathas.

53. *Books of Monsoons*, II, 244-252.

54. *Letters Received* (by the English East India Company) II, 168, 239, 257.

55. *Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya* (Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona), IV, 25-33.

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Sikkim and Bhutan : An Historical Conspectus *

BY

P. L. MEHRA

Chandigarh

I

The relationship that subsists between India and the lands of the Thunderbolt along her northern border, has evolved over the years into something quite distinct and, in a manner of speaking, even unique. Sikkim, loosely defined as a protectorate, is not quite the same as a state of the Indian Union, although the links that bind it to New Delhi are close, and even intimate. Bhutan is free and independent and yet closely aligned. In the threat which they now face in common with their more populous, if indeed powerful neighbour to the south there is an urgency that has lately brought them closer together and, in consequence, drawn them nearer to India itself. The following pages spell out the nature of that threat (which the opening section highlights) and views it against the background of a brief historical conspectus. It is, at best, a preliminary essay designed more to identify some basic problems than to provide an exhaustive tour-de-force pretending to know all the answers.

II

Although 1960-67, there has been a continuous refrain by Peking of alleged Indian intrusions into Chinese territory, more specifically across the border into Sikkim.¹ All these years, if

* An enlarged and thoroughly revised version of a paper presented at the 'Seminar on the Himalaya' (sponsored jointly by the Indian School of International Studies and the Delhi School of Economics) held in New Delhi, December 20-24, 1965.

1. Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged between the Governments of India and China (Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1959). More popularly referred to as 'White Papers' these are numbered serially, 13 of these having been published to date. Those under reference here are White Papers IV (1960), V (1961), VIII (1962), IX (1963), X (1964) and XI (1965).

more pronouncedly since 1962, the People's Republic of China has repeatedly charged India with aggressive intent, with inheriting 'the mantle of British imperialism' and of 'bullying' neighbouring countries.² More specifically New Delhi has been accused of putting up military installations which reportedly extend 'to the slope of the Chinese side of the pass (Nathu-la)'.³ There has also been talk of New Delhi's 'aggressive activities' and a demand for the dismantling of 'all the military structures' which had been built on Chinese territory and 'on the China-Sikkim boundary line' followed, logically it would seem, by a resonant call for the withdrawal of all troops 'which are unlawfully entrenched on Chinese territory'.⁴

In its 'Note' of June 4, 1963, Peking had given a resume of Indian encroachments to-date:

Incidents of Indian troops crossing the Nathu la and encroaching on Chinese territory occurred repeatedly back in May and June of 1960 (Chinese Government note of July 2, 1960). In June, 1962 when India set up a great number of military strong points on Chinese territory where it had intruded in the eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border, it also stepped up its intrusions into Chinese territory along the China-Sikkim border. In September, 1962 that is...

Indian troops crossed the Nathu la and then in succession illegally built several dozens of big and small pill-boxes and other military structures on Chinese territory and blocked the customary pass of the Nathu-la....⁵

Of a piece with the above was the ill-disguised Chinese ultimatum of September 17, 1965 delivered right in the thick of the 22-day war with Pakistan. Herein India was warned of the 'grave consequences' that might befall if its 56 'large and small' posts 'wantonly encroaching on Chinese territory and violating her sovereignty', were not dismantled 'within three days' of the delivery of the note. Besides these 'military works of aggression', there were the '800 sheep and the 59 yaks' which had to be re-

2. *Hsinhua* (New China News Agency) release dated October 27, 1966, *Asian Recorder*, New Delhi, 1966, p. 7397.

3. *White Paper*, IX, pp. 44-45.

4. Peking's note to the Embassy of India in China, September 28, 1964, *White Paper*, XI, pp. 21-23.

5. *Supra*, n. 3.

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turned.⁶ Nor was there any doubt left that 'the grave consequences' alluded to, in the event of non-compliance, was a euphemism for war.⁷

Other persistent themes in Peking's 'notes', over the past several years, have been a dual stress on China and Sikkim having 'always lived in peace' and of 'no Chinese forces' having ever crossed into Sikkim. Evidently, and by implication, aggression into Sikkim, and beyond it into Chinese domain, has always been committed by New Delhi. As if this were not clear in itself, Peking has insisted that this is 'a fact not to be distorted.'

Two conclusions emerge. One, while earlier Peking may have tacitly recognised Indian responsibility in regard to the defence of Sikkim, lately there has been a clear-cut indication that such measures by New Delhi in themselves constituted aggression against a 'peaceful neighbour'. The ultimatum of September, 1965 and the subsequent aggressive postures across the Jelap la and the Nathu la make this clear beyond dispute. Symptomatic thereof again was the Indian note of November 4, 1966 against Peking's 'continuing acts of harassment and intrusion into Sikkimese territory', New Delhi describing these as 'wilful provocations intended to create tension on the border.'⁸ Earlier, on October 31 (1966), the Maharaja (Palden Thondup Namgayal) referred to continuing road-building activities of the Chinese 'fairly close to the Sikkim border.' He also referred to three cases of intrusion into his country's territory and maintained that while the Chinese were not in occupation (of any Sikkimese territory) 'all kinds of intrusion are certainly objectionable.'⁹

Nor should there have been any doubt about the fact that New Delhi had solemnly pledged to uphold the security and integrity of these states — an undertaking that admitted of no ambiguity. To be sure it had been made clear, and in the most unequivocal of terms, both by the two earlier Prime Ministers and Parliament that any attempt at violating the frontier-demarcated

6. For the full text of the Chinese note of September 17, 1965 see the *Asian Recorder*, 1965, pp. 6712-13.

7. *The Statesman* (Northern Indian edition), September 18, 1965.

8. *Asian Recorder* 1966, p. 7413.

9. *Loc. cit.*

on the ground, as in the case of Sikkim, and traditionally established, as in the case of Bhutan— would be tantamount to aggression and would be resisted as such. As late as July, 1967, the Indian Defence Minister told Parliament that New Delhi stood by the assurances given by Mr. Nehru to defend Bhutan in the event of a threat to its territorial integrity.¹⁰ Here was a position affirmed earlier (October, 1966) by the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi when she maintained that 'if Bhutan was attacked, and it asked for India's assistance', New Delhi would rush to its defence.¹¹

It is hardly necessary to recall here that these pledges had been given in the face of, or more accurately as a direct consequence of, initial Chinese attempts to cast doubts on well-known Indian claims. To be specific, the first White Paper alludes to two notes handed over to the Chinese Foreign Office in Peking on August 20, 1959¹² wherein pointed attention was drawn to the fact of Chinese violation of traditional Bhutanese rights which were now sought to be rectified and for which 'immediate action' was solicited. Nor has this trend ceased over the years. Thus more recently pursuant to a Bhutanese Government's complaint against a 'succession of violation of Bhutan's frontiers', New Delhi lodged a strong protest with Peking. In a note on September 30, 1966, it referred to Chinese intrusions into the Doklan pasture area which lies south of the traditional boundary between Bhutan and Tibet in the southern Chumbi area and warned that,

In view of the persistence of these intrusions by Chinese troops and nationals and the increasing strength of the intruders, the Government of Bhutan could no longer dismiss the incidents as accidental transgression of the frontier.¹³

10. *Asian Recorder*, 1967, p. 7833.

11. *Ibid.*, 1966, p. 7372.

12. The first note referred to eight villages within Tibet-Khangri, Tarchen, Tshekhori, Dirapu, Dzong Tuphu, Jangche, Chahip and Kocha — around Mount Kailash, with Tarchen as their administrative centre, which for 300 years had not been subject to Tibetan laws or taxes. Recently, the note charged, Chinese authorities had without reason seized all arms, ammunition and ponies belonging to the Bhutanese officials at Tarchen, an action which constituted 'a violation of the traditional Bhutanese rightful authority.' *White Paper I*, Nos. 59-60, pp. 96-97.

13. *Asian Recorder*, 1966, p. 7361.

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Later, instead of replying to the charges made, the New China News Agency made a counter-allegation, charged Indian troops with crossing the China-Sikkim boundary and of intruding into the Dongan (probably the same as Doklan) grassland 'to carry out reconnaissance and harassment.'¹⁴

As early as 1959, the Chinese Prime Minister had referred to a cable sent in 1947, on the morrow of India's independence, by the Government of Tibet demanding the return of 'all the territory of the Tibet region of China south of this illegal line ('the so-called McMahon Line').'¹⁵ It is significant that the territory thus claimed included, inter alia, both Bhutan and Sikkim.¹⁶ To be sure, the Chinese Government went a step further and maintained that the question of the boundary, between China on the one hand and Bhutan and Sikkim on the other, 'does not fall within the scope of our present discussions' with New Delhi, though conceding somewhat gradually that China always respected 'the proper relations' between these countries and India.¹⁷

The Chinese position was stoutly resisted by New Delhi and the then Prime Minister pointed out that if the undefined areas, claimed by Tibet in the 1947 telegram, were to be taken literally 'the Tibetan boundary will come down to the line of the river Ganges.' 'There could be no question', the late Mr. Nehru was emphatic, 'of re-opening old treaties with Tibet, with a view to entertaining, even for purposes of discussion, claims to large areas of Indian territory.' As for Bhutan, 'the rectification of errors in Chinese maps' regarding that country's boundary with Tibet was a matter that had to be discussed alongwith the question of the boundary of India with Tibet. In regard to Sikkim, the Indian Prime Minister pointed out, the Convention of 1890 followed by the actual demarcation in 1895, made it plain that there was no

14. *Ibid.*, 1966, p. 7397.

15. Letter from the Prime Minister of China to the Prime Minister of India, September 8, 1959, *White Paper II*, note 11, pp. 27-33.

16. *Ibid.*, note 12, pp. 34-36, letter from the Prime Minister of India to the Prime Minister of China. The telegram, under reference, asked for the return of alleged Tibetan territories on the boundaries of India and Tibet 'such as Zayul and Walong and in direction of Pemakoe, Lonag, Lopa, Mon, Bhutan, Sikkim, Darjeeling on this side of river Ganges and Lowo, Ladakh etc., upto boundary of Yarkhim.'

17. *Supra*, n. 15.

dispute regarding the boundary.¹⁸ Later the Chinese were to resile from their earlier stand and while maintaining that there was only a certain discrepancy between the delineation on the maps concerning the boundary between China and Bhutan, conceded that 'it has always been tranquil along the border between the two countries.' As regards Sikkim, the position was happier for the boundary 'has long been delimited' and there was 'neither any discrepancy between the maps nor any dispute in practice.'¹⁹ Peking went further and dismissed all allegations that China wanted to 'encroach on' Bhutan and Sikkim as 'sheer nonsense.'²⁰ New Delhi now hastened to clinch the issue,

In view of the responsibility of the Government of India for the defence and maintenance of the integrity of Bhutan and Sikkim, the Government of India welcome the assurance of the Government of China that they will not encroach on the territory of Sikkim and Bhutan.²¹

Despite the obviously satisfactory nature of their then assurance, the Chinese have by their actions in subsequent years continuously violated both the letter and spirit of their pledged word. As the preceding pages make clear, Peking has now been consistently charging India with committing aggression in Sikkim and,

18. *Supra*, n. 16. The actual demarcation, in 1895-96, related to the eastern portion; the northern sector being demarcated in 1902-3.

The Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 was confirmed by the Anglo-Tibetan Convention of 1906 and the Tripartite Simla Convention of 1914. For a detailed reference mention may be made of Sub-section C, entitled 'Sikkim and Bhutan', in Section II, Part I of the *Report of the Officials of the Government of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question* (Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, February, 1961), pp. 101-2.

19. The Officials' Report, *op.cit.*, points out that the Bhutan-Tibet boundary is also a 'natural, traditional and customary one and that the discrepancy concerned the south-east corner of Bhutan which has 'always formed part of the Tashigong dzong of Bhutan and the villages in the area had always, considered themselves as part of Bhutan.' There was a host of evidence, 'traditional and customary', to substantiate this, the Report asserted.

20. Note by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, December 26, 1959. *White Paper* III, note 11, pp. 60-82.

21. *Ibid.*, Note of the Government of India to the Government of China, note 13, pp. 85-98.

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through this tiny kingdom, into 'China's Tibet.'²² Employing the Chinese idiom, the Indian Government has been 'using the territory of China to carry out aggressive activities against China.' Besides, in clear violation of earlier pledges, the Chinese as late as September, 1965, declared that the Sikkim-Tibet border 'did not come within the purview' of the Sino-Indian frontier. In other words, Peking has virtually refused to recognise the special position of Sikkim, or of Bhutan for that matter, which gives New Delhi the right to defend their territorial integrity against external aggression. Representative of China's new stance in the matter was the wording of the Hsinhua release of October 27, 1966 which maintained that although the boundary between Bhutan and China had never been formally defined, yet if the Bhutanese understanding of the alignment of the border was not the same as that of the Chinese 'a fair and reasonable solution' could be found by negotiations between them.

What was more, Peking further maintained that although it constantly recognised Bhutan's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the actual boundary was a matter 'for Bhutan and China alone to settle.' New Delhi having inherited the 'mantle of British imperialism' was 'bullying' neighbouring countries'.²³ This 'somersault' in Chinese policy, against which the Government of India lodged a violent protest was at once significant and portentous.²⁴

22. In a note handed to the Indian Embassy on January 31, 1966, Peking alleged that there were 39 cases of Indian troop 'incursions' along the India-China border and the Chinese-Sikkim boundary in the latter half of 1965. In this period, the Chinese charged, 'intrusions by Indian troops into Chinese territory were most numerous and most serious,' since the earlier clash of 1962. *The Statesman*, February 4, 1966. For a more recent Chinese attempt to stretch their lines of communication into the Indian side of the Sikkim-Tibet watershed, which was eventually foiled, see *Ibid.*, September 3, 1967.

23. *Asian Recorder*, 1966, p. 7397.

24. Initially, at their meetings in Rangoon, Chinese officials pointed out to their Indian counterparts that Sikkim and Bhutan fell outside the purview of discussions on the Sino-Indian border. This was in obvious contradiction of the Chinese Prime Minister's reaffirmation, at his mid-night press conference in New Delhi, on April 25, 1960 that 'China fully recognises India's special relationship with Sikkim and Bhutan.' Later, the Peking Review substituted the word 'appropriate' in place of 'special.' For New Delhi's protest against Peking's 'somersault' see the *Asian Recorder*, 1965, p. 6753.

In the light of the above it may be useful to underline the fact that both Bhutan and Sikkim have exercised administrative control to the limits of their traditional boundaries. The Officials' Report, alluded to in the foot-notes above, makes specific mention of such instances in the case of Sikkim- being those of 1896 and 1902 when trespassers from Tibet were summarily expelled. As for Bhutan, the latter had always maintained check-posts along the boundary with Tibet and had been exercising effective administrative jurisdiction upto this boundary. Since the traditional boundary of India and Tibet lies along the Himalayan watershed, Bhutan's eastern boundary is contiguous only with Indian territory and is, therefore, a matter concerning India and Bhutan only. The boundary was, in fact, studied jointly by the representatives of the two countries in 1936-38 and has been clear and unambiguous. As for Bhutan's neighbour to the west, the Chinese position continues to underline the fact that its troops never 'crossed into Sikkim' and in reality have always lived together in peace with it.²⁵ Obviously enough China's earlier stand vis-a-vis these countries has been completely reversed.

Having investigated the nature and scope of New Delhi's commitment, it may be useful to ask how much does the layman, and the scholar-expert, know about Sikkim and Bhutan — the lands and the people and their respective historical setting. Thus few, if any, reliable accounts of the geography of these lands are available: what we have are, at best, travelogues with all that that term implies.²⁶ It would follow that there are no known sociological, anthropological, much less mineral or industrial surveys or studies. To be sure, until a decade ago, estimates of physical area or population were no better than guesses. For

25. In its note of June 4, 1963, the Chinese Government asserted that 'over a long time now, the Nathu la has served as a dividing point of the scope of administration of China and Sikkim.' *White Paper*, IX, pp. 44-45; on July 31, 1963 that 'China and Sikkim have always lived together in peace and no Chinese forces have ever crossed into Sikkim.' *White Paper* X, pp. 20-21.

26. John Claude White, *Sikkim and Bhutan: twenty-one years on the North-east Frontier. 1887-1908* (London, 1909), is concerned largely with exploration carried out by the author. So also the Earl of Ronaldshay (later Marquess of Zetland), *Lands of the Thunderbolt: Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan* (London, 1923).

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that matter even for purposes of providing an accurate historical setting, the wherewithal is extremely meagre and reliable accounts conspicuous by their absence.²⁷

Sikkim, from Sanskrit 'Sukhim', connotes peace and happiness, and is better known by its Tibetan name of 'Denjong', literally rice country or more accurately 'the hidden valley of rice.'²⁸ It is the so-called 'Little Tibet' in India. With a composite population of a little over 160,000,²⁹ its earliest inhabitants, the Lepchas of Indo-Chinese stock, are a small minority. Another equally small, albeit powerful, minority are the Bhotias who, in 1961, numbered a little more than 15,000.³⁰ Immigrants chiefly from Tibet and Bhutan, the ruling house too is of Bhotia stock, as no doubt is the religion of the country — Lama Buddhism — which is professed by the Lepchas as well. Actually, Lamaism is followed by about 28% of the population, the rest being Nepalese, constituting about three-fourths of the total, and are Hindus. The famous monasteries of Permionchi and the one at Gangtok, not far from the Royal palace, are but replicas of the more famous ones in the land across the Jelap la. The Lepchas and the Bhotias apart, the preponderant majority of the population are the Nepalese, popularly called the 'Peharias'. It is their language, Gorkhli, which is more commonly spoken in the country and as they are both hard-working and venturesome, they dominate the agriculture and commerce of the land. For the social historian, well-versed in anthropology, Sikkim provides rich fare. The composite character of its people, the historical setting in which the intermixture took place, the social and political milieu which evolved as a result thereof, are subjects that await competent hands. Probably the most fascinating in this context is the evolu-

27. A more recent study, Pradyumana P. Karan and William M. Jenkins, *The Himalayan Kingdoms: Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal* (New York, 1963) is principally a geographical survey and politically-historically far from satisfactory.

28. L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (London, 1905), suggests another derivation — Sanskrit 'Sikhin' being 'crested' or mountainous country. 'Sukhim' may also connote 'new home.'

29. According to the 1961 Census, Sikkim had a population of 162,189.

30. In the 1941 census Bhotias, of Tibetan extraction, numbered 10,981 and Lepchas 13,061.

tion of Lama Buddhism, its professions and practices, its social and political hold.

Sikkim's geography is simply told. The country is surrounded by four principal neighbours — Tibet in the north, Bhutan towards the east, Nepal in the west, and India on the south. In shape, it is almost like a rectangle, measuring 70 miles by 40, the area being roughly 2,800 square miles. In the north, the country stretches upto the great Himalayan range which, lying for most part above 20,000 feet in height, forms the watershed between Tibet and Sikkim. There are four passes in it: Sese la (also pronounced Dachila) 17,343 feet in height, Kongrala 16,810 feet, Nakula 17,290 feet and finally Chorten Nymala, 19,000 feet. In the east, the Dongya range stands between Sikkim and the Chumbi valley and is pierced by a number of passes, the most famous of which are the Nathu la and the Jelep la, just over 14,000 feet. On the west, the Singali la range forms the boundary between Sikkim and Nepal and here is to be found Kanchenjunga, the third highest peak in the world. In the south, there is no natural feature which marks off the frontier between Sikkim and India except in the middle where it runs along the Teesta and the Rangeet rivers until they meet near Melli.

The north-western part of Sikkim consists of high mountains and the well-known Zemlu glacier. The northern comprises the Lachen and the Lachung valleys which used to serve as highways for trade with southern Tibet. In these valleys, unmindful of the niceties of international law and frontier demarcations, the yaks graze in the summer. The south-eastern part of the country lies on the main route to the Chumbi valley and Tibet. There is little cultivation in the high Donkaya range, but it is very fertile in other parts. Cardamom, which is one of the main exports, is grown near Singhik while rice is the chief crop in the lower Teesta and Rangpo valleys. In the south-east, where the Rangeet and its tributaries flow, the country is rich in growing rice, loose-skinned (Sikkimese) oranges and a large variety of vegetables. Among its major crops are maize, paddy, millet, wheat, barley, cardamom, apples, oranges, potatoes and buck-wheat. Domestic animals include cattle and buffaloes, yaks, goats, pigs, mules and poultry. Sikkim also has deposits of copper, coal, graphite and gypsum besides negligible quantities of iron.

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The country's known history is relatively brief and could be summarised with the utmost facility. The earliest known references to it are in Horace della Penna and Samuel Yan de Putte, although the name then used for it was 'Bramashan'. Sikkim's first known inhabitants were Lepchas or 'Rong-pa', literally 'the people of the valley'. When precisely did they migrate here and from where are moot points which continue to defy categorical answers. Tradition, however, has it that these people came from Tibet or alternately from what we now know as Assam and Burma.

Sikkim's present ruling dynasty, popularly called Namgayal, traces its origin to Thri Srong de Tsan, a well-known eighth-century king of Tibet.³¹ These beginnings are, however, somewhat shadowy and it is not until the 17th century that the ancestor of the present ruler, Phuntso Namgayal emerges.³² His period of rule, however, coincides with the arrival of three monks from southern Tibet, belonging to the 'Duk-pa' or the Red hat sect. Phuntso is reported to have spent some years in the Chumbi valley before moving on to settle at or near Gangtok. In 1641 — a date that signifies a major landmark in the history of Sikkim — Phuntso Namgayal who had, for sometime it appears, been living near the site of present-day Gangtok in a 'private capacity', was recognised as the king of the whole country. Meantime, and subsequent to the introduction of lamaism by the three monks, the new religion is said to have registered a steady progress and, in due course, completely displaced the earlier Bon practices.³³

31. Charles Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 26, 28-29. records that during his reign Tibet was at the zenith of her power and was one of the great military powers of Asia: 'Her empire touched those of the Arabs and Turks across the Pamirs. Turkestan and Nepal seem to have been subject to her. One of the histories of Western Tibet records of Ti-song De-Tsan's reign, 'All the countries of the four frontiers were subdued. China in the east, India in the south, Baltistan and Gilgit in the west, and Kashgar in the north were brought under his power.'

32. White, *op.cit.*, p. 16 refers to him as 'Penchoo Namgyêl' and contends that he was appointed by the 'Lhasan Lama' as the first Gyalpo or King.

33. Most Sikkimese belong to the Nyingmapa and the Dzongchampa sects, their beliefs no doubt preserving many traditions from Sikkim's pre-Buddhist past. Sikkim's patron-saint is Lhatsun Chempo.

In the latter half of the 17th century, Sikkim's rulers extended their dominion far south into the districts of Purnia, in modern Bihar, and ruled over parts of the low country which originally belonged to Kamrup and Matsya. Later they appear to have lost these territories to the Muslim rulers of the north of what is now Baikunthpur pargana. In 1700 the ruler of Bhutan invaded Sikkim, allegedly on the request of Angmu la, the sister of Sikkim's then Maharaja. In consequence Chak-dor Namgayal, the third ruler (1700-17), who was then a minor, fled from the country and took refuge in Tibet. The Bhutanese ruler Deb Naku Zidar (1700-6), however, kept Sikkim under one of his governors, until 1706. Meantime the run-away Sikkimese ruler Chakdor is said to have obtained help from the Tibetans to drive out the Bhutanese who in the process nevertheless managed to retain Damzong. In gratitude for this assistance, Chakdor founded the great monastery of Permiongtschi, the largest in Sikkim and wholly Tibetan in character. In 1770, the Bhutanese appear to have made another attempt to conquer Sikkim but were severely defeated near the Tam la precipice. An official compilation retails the following version,

Bhutan also invaded and occupied all land east of Tista, but suffered defeat at Phodong and withdrew to present boundaries after negotiations at Rhenock.³⁴

What precisely was the nature and extent of the control exercised by the Dalai Lama and the Government of Tibet over Sikkim and its ruler is not easy to determine. Traditionally the ruler of Sikkim is said to have been designated at Lhasa. It is also worth notice that the Maharaja spent a lot of his time in the Tibetan capital, as he certainly did in the neighbouring Chumbi valley.³⁵

34. *Sikkim: A Concise Chronicle* (Gangtok, 1963), pp. 6-7.

35. 'Sikkim claims to have possessed the Chumbi valley till the Chinese invasion of Nepal in 1792. But little Sikkim has lost on all sides for, as the State chronicle records, it has been shorn by,

Powerful hordes of elephants from the south,

Active hordes of monkeys from the west,

Cunning hordes of foxes from the north.

Whether the causes were good or bad, there is no doubt that the British elephant, the Gurkha monkey and the Tibetan fox have devoured large slices of Sikkim.' Bell, *Tibet*, p. 8.

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The century and a half of British rule in India, from the early 19th to the middle of the 20th century, formulated the basis of the relationship that subsists between Gangtok and New Delhi. Initially while the British were consolidating their gains in Bengal, in the wake of their earlier military successes, the Gurkhas had been gathering strength in neighbouring Nepal. In 1788-89, the latter invaded Sikkim and seized Rubdentze which fact made the sixth Gyalpo, Tenzing Namgayal, flee into Tibet for help.³⁶ Later, in 1791, when the Gurkhas themselves were worsted by the Chinese in the wake of their attack on, and sack of Tashilhunpo- the seat of the Panchen Rimpoche- Sikkim got back a part of its territory.

Years later, in 1815, the British after defeating the Gurkhas in an armed encounter, restored to the Maharaja of Sikkim the Tarai region, now in Darjeeling district, as well as parts of west Sikkim. Earlier, in 1814, Captain (later Major) Lather, at the head of a British force, had forged an alliance with the ruler of Sikkim.³⁷ The ten-article treaty of Titalia, signed between Sikkim and the East India Company on February 10, 1817, marks the beginnings of the political relationship between the two countries.³⁸ In the succeeding decades, Sikkim was thrown increasingly into the British lap, largely because of internecine war between the Tibetan and Lepcha factions which raged fiercely and often-times resulted in bloodshed and disturbances on the Indian frontier. In 1828, Captain Llyod was appointed to settle the dispute and reported on the 'excellent prospects Darjeeling held out as a sanatorium.' Not long after, in 1834-35, the Raja 'out of friendship' for the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, 'presented' him the site of Darjeeling, ostensibly it was said in lieu of British help in settling the disturbances caused by some Lepcha refugees of Nepal.³⁹ Six years later the Company gave him an allowance

36. White, *op.cit.*, p. 17. While fleeing the ruler seems to have taken alongwith his son, Chophey.

37. B. D. Sanwal, *Nepal and the East India Company* (Bombay, 1965), pp. 151-52 and 182.

38. R. C. Majumdar, *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, (Bombay, 1963), p. 1066. It was this treaty that laid down afresh the disputed frontier between Nepal and Sikkim.

39. The cession of Darjeeling to the British was regarded as an illegal act of the king and created a crisis in Sikkim's relations with Tibet. For

of Rs. 3,000/- as compensation for this grant, a sum raised, in 1846, to Rs. 6,000/-.⁴⁰

In 1847, there was a visible strain in Britain's relations with the Himalayan kingdom. The two major problems were the question of slavery, then practised in the country, and the detention by the Sikkim ruler of some run-aways from British justice. The Sikkimese kidnappers also used to make frequent raids on north Bengal and take away British subjects as slaves to Sikkim. Nor was the Company's administration willing to enter into a treaty with the Sikkimese ruler on this question. As if relations were not sufficiently strained already, Sir Archibald Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling and Dr. J. D. Hooker, who between the two of them are said to have 'discovered' Sikkim, were arrested while travelling in the country and detained for six weeks. Later, under considerable pressure, their release was secured, while the Company annexed the whole of the Tarai and the outer hills as a punishment for the repeated insults which had been inflicted on British subjects.⁴¹

Determined, however, to non-cooperate, the Maharaja refused to carry out his treaty obligations and persisted in living in Tibet. To make him toe the line, the British, in 1880, marched a large expeditionary force into the country lying north of the Raman river and west of the Rangeet. Colonel J. C. Gawler was at the head of the force while Ashely Eden accompanied him as the diplomatic envoy. On March 28, 1861 they dictated a revised treaty to the Maharaja. The new compact signified an important landmark in Sikkim's chequered story for now, for the first time, the country's political integrity as British India's 'protectorate' stood confirmed. In its admittedly harsh terms, the Sikkimese ruler granted full rights of free trade and of road-building in the country and promised protection to the travellers. In return, Government resumed the annual pension which had been stopped

as an expression of its displeasure, the latter forbade the ruler from visiting holy Lhasa more than once in eight years. In 1844, when the king was on his way thither, he nearly lost his life in an unseemly brawl at Phari, at the head of the Chumbi valley.

40. Karan and Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-59.

41. The British now detached the southern foothills and ceased payments which they had, hitherto, made for Darjeeling.

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in 1850 as a result of the ruler's contumacious conduct.⁴² All this notwithstanding, the Maharaja continued to remain recalcitrant and permitted some Tibetan soldiers, nay even encouraged them, to build a fort in his domain. The net result was that Lord Lytton's more equable successors could not remain long indifferent to what was to them a sorry state of affairs and, in 1888, an armed expedition was despatched to the country which threw back the Tibetans across the Jelap la.

The armed action of the British had been the result of a fairly complicated political situation. Thus to start with, the then Maharaja of Sikkim, Thotab Namgayal led by his masterful second wife, the daughter of a well-placed Tibetan official in Lhasa, had then for some years been residing in Chumbi- and this despite repeated British protests to the contrary.⁴³ Besides, the injection of Tibetan troops into Lingtu with what looked like the Maharaja's tacit approval, was viewed by the British as a clear violation of the Anglo-Sikkimese Convention of 1861. Meantime it was abundantly clear that the Maharaja, hostile as he was to the British connection, had proffered his fullest support and cooperation to the Chinese Amban in throwing them (the British) out from his territory.⁴⁴

Varied pressures on the British government in India to mount action against the Himalayan kingdom were growing all the time. The frontier officials of a subordinate local government, that of Bengal, were increasingly restive. They painted, in lurid colours, the picture of Sikkim becoming a province of Tibet and affirmed that this 'would react most formidably on the security of life and property' in neighbouring Darjeeling. Inside Parliament, in London, some inconvenient questions had been asked while the Chambers of Commerce from without had shown a remarkable

42. For the full text of the treaty see Aitchison, *op.cit.*, XII.

43. White, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

44. At a meeting convened by the Amban at Chumbi, in 1886, the ruler of Sikkim is reported to have said: 'From the time of all our Rajas and subjects have obeyed the orders of China..... In such a crisis (precipitated by the British crossing his State territory) if you, as our old friend, can make some arrangements, even then in good and evil we will not leave the shelter of the feet of China and Tibet..... We all, King and subjects, priests and laymen, honestly promise to prevent persons from crossing the boundary.' H. H. Riseley (Editor), *Gazetteer of Sikkim* (Calcutta, 1894), p. 126.

eagerness to push in. Again, after a whole year's (1886-87) dilly-dallying, a time-limit had been set for Peking to ensure Tibetan withdrawal by March 15, 1888. A letter too had been written to the Tibetan commander at Lingtu which came back unopened while another sent to the Dalai Lama met with no better fate.⁴⁵ Finally, on March 20 (1888), 2,000 British troops, commanded by Brigadier Graham, drove the Tibetans out of Lingtu and took up positions at Gnatong. Lhasa's irregular levies, which made two more attempts in the autumn, were repulsed with heavy losses while pursuing British troops advanced 12 miles inside Tibet and entered the Chumbi valley. Their withdrawal, however, was immediate and the occupation lasted barely a day.⁴⁶

A significant fact that deserves notice here is that owing to their inability to settle matters concerning Sikkim, and its ruler, with Tibet and its Dalai Lama, the British now reverted to direct dealings with China. How far this was due to a proper understanding on their part of the working relationship between the Manchu rulers of China and their outlying dependencies is a much-debated point.⁴⁷ But it may be relevant to point out that Lhasa later repudiated the agreement Britain had concluded on the plea that China had no right to bind it down without its willing consent.

Presently desultory negotiations ensued. The British were anxious that Peking should recognise their protectorate over Sikkim, a proposition for which the Chinese had shown no enthusiasm in the past, nor did they show any now. The stalemate thus persisted and at one stage the British threatened to close the episode, so far as China was concerned, without any specific agreement—a contingency that spurred Peking to a sudden spurt of activity. Broken once, the talks led finally to the conclusion of the Anglo-

45. Sir Percy Sykes, *Sir Mortimer Durand: A Biography* (London, 1926), p. 166.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

47. For a detailed discussion see P. L. Mehra, 'The Dalai and the Panchen: Tibet's Supreme Incarnate Lamas', *India Quarterly*, XV, 3 (July-September, 1959), pp. 262-89, and the same author's 'Tibet and Outer Mongolia vis-a-vis China, 1911-36', *Journal of Indian History*, XLII, 3, December, 1964, pp. 727-61. Also see John King Fairbank and Su-yu Teng, *Ch'ing Administration: Three Studies* (Harvard, 1961).

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Chinese Convention of 1890 which, inter alia, defined Sikkim's boundary as the water-parting of the 'Teesta' ('Mochu' to the Tibetans), recognised Britain's 'protectorate' over the state viz., control over its internal administration and foreign relations- and gave a joint Anglo-Chinese guarantee of the frontier laid down.⁴⁸ Certain other issues such as grazing rights for the Tibetans in Sikkim, the mode of communication between the Indian and Tibetan authorities and the question of transfrontier trade were, however, left over to be decided by a joint Anglo-Chinese Commission.

A supplementary agreement on matters relating to trade came to be concluded in 1893. Earlier, in 1890, provision was made for the stationing of a British Political Officer in Gangtok to assist the Maharaja in carrying out his duties. It may be added here, if only in parenthesis, that here were the beginnings of an important institution which, over the past three quarters of a century and more, has been manned by some of the more senior officers in the public services and has served as the watch-dog of British, and lately Indian, interests not only in Sikkim but in Bhutan and, across the frontier, in Tibet as well.⁴⁹ It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that a primary source-material of first-rate importance for the history of India's relations with the bordering states is to be found in the regular reports of the incumbents of this office.⁵⁰

To take up the thread of the narrative. The Maharaja continued to non-cooperate with the British and tried to flee into Tibet, through Nepal. He was, however, intercepted by the friendly

48. For the full text of the Convention see Appendix V, in Bell, *Tibet*, pp. 280-81.

49. 'In Sikkim, a self-governing state in India, I was in the position of a Resident; with regard to Bhutan..... my functions were advisory; while in Tibet my position was vaguely diplomatic.' B. J. Gould, *The Jewel in the Lotus* (London, 1957), p. 168.

50. John Claude White was the first incumbent of this office; his successor was Sir Charles Alfred Bell, probably one of the best known authorities on Tibet. After him came Sir Basil Gould and Mr. Harry Hopkinson. Since independence the better-known of our Political Officers have been B. K. Kapur, Apasaheb B. Pant, I. J. Bahadur Singh, Avatar Singh and Vincent Herbert Coelho. The present incumbent is Mr. N. Balachandra

(viz., to the British) Gurkhas and handed over to the Government of India. Later he resided at Kurseong, near Darjeeling, as a state prisoner and died unreconciled to the last in 1914.⁵¹ The story of this ninth ruler of Sikkim who maintained a steadfast loyalty to his Tibetan connections and refused intercourse with the British deserves careful scrutiny. It would stand to reason that not unlike the Tibetan rulers, he feared that hobnobbing with the 'firingis' would endanger the security of his domain and jeopardise the religious convictions of his people. The juxtaposition of his and the Dalai Lama's policies vis-a-vis the British rulers in India is a subject deserving of detailed examination: the motivations which guided the two, and the attitudes they adopted as a sequel, bear, not unnaturally, a close parallel.⁵² It is not without significance that although Tashi Namgayal, Thotab's successor to the throne, came to power in 1914, it was only in 1918 that the British government decided to transfer to him responsibility for the internal administration of the country of which his predecessor had been deprived.

The recent history of Sikkim poses two striking problems: the relationship that has evolved in the years after 1890, and more specifically since 1947, between the Maharaja on the one hand and the Political officers, stationed at Gangtok, on the other. An earlier date of some significance was the transfer of responsibility for internal administration to Tashi Namgayal, the then Maharaja in 1918. Quite obviously, after the none-too-pleasant experience of Thotab, the British Government must have been doubly cautious

51. It is significant that at the Delhi Durbar, January 1, 1903, the Maharaja though he had accepted the invitation to attend, "at the last moment deputed his son and heir, Sidkyong Tulku, the Maharajkumar to attend." Later, however, in 1904, when the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Calcutta, the Maharaja and the Maharani were invited. The visit "opened their eyes and did them an immense amount of good." White, *op.cit.*, pp. 45-50.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-28, relates the story of the 1888 expedition and the subsequent decision to remove the Maharaja to Kurseong. He reveals that the ruler (Thotab Namgayal) was a man of indolent disposition whose inclination was to live in retirement. His evil influence, he maintains, was the Maharani, "a born intriguer and diplomat." When the decision to remove the Maharaja was conveyed to her she "abused me roundly, called me every name she could think of and losing her temper entirely..... stamped on the floor and finally turned her back on me entirely."

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about making a wrong, much less a hasty decision.⁵³ It may be of some relevance to mention here that it was the positively unfriendly, not to say hostile attitude of Sir Tashi's predecessor which made the Younghusband expedition specifically take a de tour of Gangtok and cross into Tibet, not via the Nathu la, but the remoter, if more difficult, Jelep la. It is evident, however, that Sir Tashi must have been amenable to British influence and eventually succeeded in winning over their confidence.

On the attainment of India's independence, in 1947, a standstill agreement was concluded with Sikkim's Maharaja, pending a more detailed examination of the issues involved. Later, in 1949, when the Sikkimese ruler found the political situation nearer home getting completely out of hand, he sought help and asked for Indian troops to help restore normal conditions. All this notwithstanding, in the new treaty that was negotiated on December 5, 1950, the Maharaja's control over his internal administration remained virtually undisturbed.⁵⁴ Some of the principal provisions of the treaty may bear a mention here:

Sikkim shall continue to be a protectorate and, subject to the provisions of this treaty, shall enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.

The Government of India will be responsible for the defence and territorial integrity of Sikkim. It shall have the right to take such measures as it considers for the defence of Sikkim or the security of India, whether preparatory or otherwise, and whether within or outside Sikkim. In particular, the Government of India shall have the right to station troops anywhere within Sikkim.

The external relations of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial, shall be conducted and regulated solely by the Government of India; and the Government of Sikkim shall have no dealings with any foreign power.⁵⁵

53. On the death of Thotab Namgayal, his son Sidkeong Trulku, the Maharajkumar, succeeded him in 1914 but the new ruler died before the end of the year when his half-brother, Tashi Namgayal came to the throne. Basil Gould, *op.cit.*, p. 169.

54. For the full text of the treaty see the *Indian Year Book of International Affairs*, II, (Madras, 1953), pp. 319-22.

55. In *P. H. Avari vs. State of West Bengal*, *All India Reporter*, 1958 (Calcutta, 203), the Calcutta High Court considered the international posi-

A second problem that deserves attention is the impact of Chinese rule in Tibet over Sikkim's political life. That there has been a growing emphasis on developmental plans, that lately the country has been conscious of its pivotal role and is making efforts to raise itself by the boot-straps as it were, is an impression that is easily formed.⁵⁶ What calls for investigation is the state of intercourse with Tibet over the past decade and the influence which the changing shape of lamaism in its own home, under the new iconoclastic masters from Peking, has exercised over the country's religious and cultural- and hence, by implication, political- life. Unfortunately, most recent studies are far from being analytical, for they tend to conform to a familiar pattern-journalistic tours-de-force pretending to know all the answers.

In December, 1963 after the death of Sir Tashi Namgayal, the Maharajkumar- whose elder brother was the real claimant to the throne, but had died in an air accident many years earlier- succeeded to the throne. He became His Highness Palden Thondup Namgayal, Denjong Chogayal.⁵⁷

Two facts about the country may not be out of place here. At the outset one may mention the political set-up, as of now. Of the principal political parties the following may be listed: the

tion of Sikkim. The petitioner contended that since Sikkim is a foreign sovereign state, the levy of fees on his sale of liquor was invalid. The Court in its judgment held that Sikkim was not a fully sovereign foreign state, that under a treaty with India it was India's 'protectorate', enjoying autonomy in regard to internal affairs. The Court further held that the Treaty of December 5, 1950 specifically laid down that the external relations of Sikkim would be conducted and regulated by the Government of India, that hence it was not a customs frontier in the sense of international trade with foreign states. The Court, however, underlined the fact that "Sikkim is not a province or a state of the territory of India. By the very terms of the protectorate over Sikkim it is clearly recognised that Sikkim enjoys autonomy in her internal affairs."

56. *Infra.*, pp. 27-28.

57. Paljer, Tashi Namgayal's eldest son, had spent sometime at a training camp for the Indian Civil Service probationers at Dehra Dun. But he insisted on applying for admission to the Indian Air Force. "Possibly he was the only man in his position in India who joined the IAF as an ordinary combatant officer." Later, after he had been commissioned, he died in an accident when, on landing at Peshawar, his machine caught fire and he was killed. Gould, *op.cit.*, p. 179.

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Sikkim State Congress, the Sikkim National Party, the Sikkim National Congress, the Sikkim Rajya Praja Sammelan and the Sikkim Scheduled Castes League.⁵⁸ After the debacle of 1949-50, the Maharaja was, and not unnaturally, very circumspect and it was not until 1953 that the first steps were taken in the direction of entrusting power to political parties. Primarily the advance was in the direction of the organisation of a State Council which was to have 12 elected members- divided equally between the Bhotia-Lepcha and the Nepalese communities- and 5 nominated members. The leaders of the Sikkim State Congress and the Sikkim National Party were appointed Executive Councillors and placed incharge of certain subjects such as education, public health, bazaar, forests, public works, agriculture, press and publicity. Originally intended for a term of three years, the Council's life was later extended till 1958.⁵⁹ In the latter year, fresh elections were held and the strength of the Council raised from 17 to 20 seats: 6 for the Nepalese, 6 for the nominees of the Maharaja, one for the monasteries and one general. The life of the Council, extended by a year, was to continue till 1962. The latter schedule, however, could not be kept because of the massive invasion of the Chinese across the border in October, 1962 and the consequent declaration of a state of emergency.⁶⁰ Actually, in its wake, a Sikkim People's Consultative Committee was set up under the presidentship of the then Maharajkumar, the present ruler. There were about 30 members in it distributed as follows: 14 from the Sikkim National Party, 5 from the Sikkim State Congress, 1 from the Sikkim scheduled Castes League, 1 from the Sikkim Rajya Praja Sammelan, 2 from the Christian community, 3 from among Indians and 1 official representative. The Committee met once a month under the presidentship of the Principal Administrative Officer.

In December, 1966 the Chhogayal issued a proclamation fixing March, 1967 for the holding of the third general elections in the

58. *Asian Recorder*, 1962, p. 4961. Representative of these groups had been included in the Sikkim People's Consultative Committee constituted in December, 1962 in the wake of a large-scale Chinese invasion.

59. Karan and Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p. 75

60. A state of emergency was declared in Sikkim on November 13, 1962 in the wake of 'the border hostilities between India and China' which 'threatened' the 'security' of the country. *Asian Recorder*, 1962, p. 4927.

State.⁶¹ Subsequently the new 24-member Sikkim National Council was constituted and met at Gangtok on May 12 (1967). It was to meet once in six months, with the Principal Administrative Officer as its ex-officio Chairman. The Council dealt principally with transferred subjects the list of which, depending upon its own proper functioning, was to be enlarged. Meanwhile the Council's three major parties were endeavouring to reach an understanding among themselves for its smooth working.⁶²

A move of some significance relating to Sikkim is the present Maharaja Palden Thondup Namgayal's effort to secure a revision of the 1950 treaty with India. What exactly is the nature and scope of the revision envisaged is not clear for the Chhogayal who alludes to the changed situation since the treaty was signed in 1950 has also underlined the 'mutual interests' of India and Sikkim, their close 'identity' of purpose besides New Delhi's over-riding 'defence needs.'⁶³ Meantime his three recently-appointed (May, 1967) Executive Councillors have suggested a Round 'Table Conference as the best way for 'finding out and strengthening the points of affinity between the two countries.'⁶⁴

A recent storm in a tea-cup that appears to have blown over for the present related to Gyalmo Hope Namgayal's article regarding the lease, to the East India Company, of Darjeeling in 1835. Examining the transaction against the background of the Sikkimese theory of landholding and the failure of the British to honour certain reciprocal obligations which they had incurred, the Gyalmo

61. *Ibid.*, 1967, p. 7505.

62. The elections for 16 out of the 18 elective seats were held in March as a result of which the Sikkim National Congress emerged as the majority party. The breakdown was:

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| Sikkim National Congress | .. 8 |
| Sikkim National Party | .. 5 |
| Sikkim States Congress | .. 2 |
| Sangha | .. 1 |
| Scheduled Castes League | .. 2 |
| Tsong (Reserved) | .. 1 |

Ibid., pp. 7701, 7723 and 7736.

63. *The Statesman*, February 10, 1966.

64. *The Asian Recorder*, 1967, pp. 7833-34. Actually, the Executive Council consists of five members — 3 full members and 2 'Deputy Executive Councillors.'

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held the deal to be unsustainable in law.⁶⁵ The Chhogayal later maintained that the article was of a purely academic nature and that no political significance need be attached to it.⁶⁶ This view-point was later endorsed by New Delhi which held the Gyalmo's thesis to be a purely 'academic exercise' and by no means a fresh claim to the land in question.⁶⁷

A word about planning may not be out of place here. For Sikkim's 7-year development plan, 1954-61, the Government of India allocated a sum of Rs. 3,25,00,154 in the form of an outright grant.⁶⁸ Sikkim's Second Five Year Plan, which was to synchronise with India's third, envisaged an expenditure of Rs. 8,13,00,000 to be provided by the Government of India. Since the inception of planning, the country has made a steady, all-round progress and its revenues have gone up nearly ten-fold.

IV

From Sikkim, Bhutan is but a logical jumping-off ground. For nearly 200 miles along India's northern periphery that country marches contiguous to Tibet and acts as an outer buffer for her. Situated in the very heart of the eastern Himalayas, Bhutan has an area of about 18,000 square miles which contrasts with Sikkim's measly 2,800. The country is situated in the north of West Bengal and Assam, and is bounded on the east by the

65. Hope Namgayal, 'The Sikkimese Theory of Land-holding and the Darjeeling Grant,' *Bulletin of Tibetology* (Namgayal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok), III, 2, pp. 47-59. In brief, the Gyalmo's line of reasoning may best be summed up in her own concluding words: 'In Sikkim where all land is believed to be held from the King and usage of the land is extended freely but on technical sufferance from the King, the gift of Darjeeling for a certain purpose ('its peculiar usage as a health resort') without transferring the donor's right of authority and jurisdiction and sovereignty would be according to strictest Sikkimese traditions. In this context the limitations and conditionality inherent in the grant of Darjeeling would seem unquestionable.'

66. *Asian Recorder*, 1966, p. 7328.

67. *Ibid.*, 1966, pp. 7422-23.

68. *Sikkim Looks Ahead* (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, 1957), outlines the country's 7 year development plan. Against the revised estimate of Rs. 1.90 crores for the current year (1965-66), subsidy to Sikkim in 1966-67 was fixed at Rs. 1.83 crores. *Asian Recorder*, 1966, p. 6995.

Kameng division of the North East Frontier Agency. Its boundary runs along south-east Tibet, its western partly along the Chumbi valley in Tibet and for the rest alongside Sikkim. Leading into Tibet, Bhutan has five main passes.

The northern part of Bhutan lies within the Great Himalayas where its rugged, snow-capped ranges attain to a height of more than 24,000 feet in some places.⁶⁹ The main range of the mountains rises to 24,000 feet in the west and to two peaks approximately 21,000 feet in the east. High altitude valleys range in elevations of 12,000-18,000 feet, and run south-wards from the great northern glaciers. The marginal mountains of the Tibetan plateau, which lie to the north of the great Himalayas, reach a height of 19,000-20,000 feet and constitute the principal watershed between rivers draining southwards and those flowing to the north. It was in this area that, from time immemorial, Bhutanese traders used to carry cloth, spices and grain across the mountain passes into Tibet bringing back salt, wool and herds of yak.

Southern Bhutan consists of low foot-hills interspersed by an intricate maze of streams and rivers which later emerge into the plains of West Bengal. This part of Bhutan is a 30-mile wide belt running from east to west, separating the plains from the rich valleys of central Bhutan. The hills rise sharply and abruptly and are cut into deep valleys and gorges by rivers liable to a sudden influx and rise during the rainy season. Southern Bhutan has also to contend with what are commonly known as the 'Duars'-literally doors, passes or passage-ways- of the Assam-Bengal plains and which reach northwards into the borders of Bhutan to a depth of 7-10 miles. The mountains here rise sharply, if suddenly, from the 'Duars' and are cut into narrow gorges. The entire Duars tract is unhealthy for while the valleys, at a considerably low elevation, are hot and steamy, the higher ranges are at once cold, wet and misty.

The Bhutan Duars are roughly divided into the northern and the southern parts. A narrow strip of a plain gives access to 18

69. For a detailed account of Bhutan's geography reference may be made to White, *op.cit.*, pp. 1-6, Karan and Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-32 and Ronaldshay, *op.cit.*,

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of these strategic 'Duars', through the Himalayan foot-hills; eleven of them being close to the northern borders of West Bengal, while another seven are near to the Assam frontier. It was from their sheltered position, that the Bhutanese launched their raids into the rich, fertile plains of Bengal and Assam.

In contrast to the south, central Bhutan lies in the Inner Himalayas and consists of several fertile valleys, 5,000 to 9,000 feet in height, which with their dividing ranges extend southwards for 40 miles. These valleys are relatively broad, with a moderate rainfall and are fairly well-populated and cultivated. Among them the Paro (7,750 feet) and the Punakha (5,170 feet) are the better-known. The peaks of the mountains separating the valleys attain heights of 12,000 to 15,000 feet. In the central region of eastern Bhutan, the valleys are narrow and reach an average height of about 3,000 feet. The area itself lies at the foot of the picturesque, if towering, snow-clad mountains separating Bhutan from Tibet. The general direction of the ranges that separate the valleys, is from north-east to south-west in eastern Bhutan. The hills in this region are covered with beeches, ashes, maples, cypresses and yews.

The chief mountain ranges from west to east, and running from the north to the foothills in the south may be easily listed. These are Tule-la, Chilai-la, Pe-la, Dokyong-la, Black Mountains, Kula Kangri, Rudong la and Donga. 'La' is the Tibetan word for a pass and it would be obvious that these ranges have been named after the main passes and even the principal peaks. The Black Mountain range, running from close to the centre of Bhutan between the Tongsa and the Punakha valleys, separates eastern from western Bhutan. Actually the range itself forms the watershed between the Sankosh and Manas rivers and divides the country into two parts, both ethnologically and administratively. For, in the east, in what is called the Tongsa dzong, the people originally came from the Assam hills, while in the west, in Paro, the population is predominantly Tibetan in origin.

Even as the Black mountain range divides the country into two, the Tule la in the west separates Bhutan from Sikkim. In the north-east, the mountains of Tawang separate Bhutan from what constitutes the North-East Frontier Agency.

Bhutan comprises eight main valleys and five principal rivers. The valleys are those of Ha, Paro, Punakha, Thimphu, Ten Chu, Trangs, Bumthang and eastern Bhutan. Of the rivers only one, namely Torsa, rises in Tibet. For the rest- Raidak, Sankosh, Tongsa and Manas rise in northern Bhutan and flow into the Brahmaputra. It is noticeable that all the large rivers of Bhutan, barring the Manas and the Kuru, flow from the southern face of the great Himalayas and after struggling through the narrow defiles at the foot of the mountains, emerge into the Duars, eventually to drain into the Brahmaputra. Through the Manas and Kuru valleys lie two of the principal routes linking eastern Bhutan with Lhasa.

Bhutan's principal river, the Mochu or Punakha, which flows from the snow-capped mountains past Gasa dzong and the Pho Chu, joins with the latter in the Punakha valley to form the Sankosh; the (Punakha) dzong itself commanding the (Sankosh) valley. About 15 miles south of Punakha lies the celebrated castle of Wangdu Phodrang on the Sankosh river. The castle has been rated important because strategically it commands a well-known route. Similarly the river Thimbu, or more commonly Wong chu, flows past Thimbu, the town which serves as the present capital of Bhutan, and runs southward along the entire extent of the country under the name of Raidak, to Phunchholing on the Indian border; in the Buxa duar.

Thanks to its locale and geographical features, the country has a wide variety of climate, as indeed of vegetation. Thus rice, buckwheat, barley and potatoes constitute the chief crops while preliminary surveys indicate that the land is also rich in dolomite, limestone, copper, graphite, gypsum, coal, pyrites and gold.

By and large the preceding paragraphs reveal Bhutan to be a land of great diversity with its thick, dense, swampy jungles; its rich, rice-clad valleys; its bleak Alpine highlands and its towering snow-peaks. By its own people the country is called 'Drug-yu' or 'Drug-yul' literally, 'the land of the dragons.' Varied estimates of population have been current, yet the one most widely accepted is of a little less than a million, 800,000 to be more precise. According to Ashley Eden, Bhutan's first inhabitants were 'Tephoo Bhutais' who hailed from Cooch-Behar in India. Later came

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migrants from Kham, in eastern Tibet and still later the Nepalese. The inter-mixture of these various strands, with some aboriginal tribes, makes up for the present population of the country. As in Sikkim, here too the social historian and the anthropologist have almost a virgin field for study and research which could be extremely rewarding.

The large majority of the Bhutanese are lama Buddhists of the 'Duk-pa' or the 'Kargyu-pa' sect, their conversion to the faith being reportedly the work of guru Padma Sambhava. Bhutan's official language is 'Bhumthangka' although 'Dzongkha' is spoken in central Bhutan, 'Sarchapkha' in the eastern part of the country and Nepali or Gorkhali in the southern.

Apart from Guru Padma Sambhava, India's association with the Himalayan kingdom to its north goes as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era when the western extremity of Kamrupa was said to embrace the whole of present-day Bhutan.⁷⁰ Later it was to emerge as a separate Hindu kingdom which was conquered by the Tibetans in the ninth century. The country's new rulers destroyed all traces of Hindu rule including what looks like a wholesale extermination of the people of the country, their buildings and places of worship. This period of transformation from Hinduism to Lama Buddhism, and the near-completion of the change that came about in its wake, constitutes one of the least-known chapters in Bhutan's history, albeit few will deny that it deserves to be better understood.

With its Tibetan stock, travelled the country's religion too and soon enough out of a conflict of the sects emerged the 'Duk-pa', a branch of the Kargyu-pa, which came up on top and ere long became the country's state religion. Presently the land was dotted all over with monasteries or 'Gompas'- the most famous today being the Tagtsang gomba, literally the 'Tiger's den monastery'.

The recent history of Bhutan starts with the arrival in that country of a travelling lama, one Shepthoon La-pha, also referred to as Shab-tung Rimpoche and later more commonly as the Dharama Raja. He came to Bhutan about the middle of the

70. White Paper II, Appendix, 'A note on the Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India.

seventeenth century. As the country's spiritual head, his attention was devoted almost exclusively to matters of the church and yet it is certain that at about this time, and during his period of reign, Bhutan emerged as a distinct political entity.

Shab-tung Rimpoche was succeeded by Doopgein Shepton, who consolidated Bhutan through the appointment of 'Penlops', or governors of territories, and 'dzengpons', or governors of forts- 'dzong' (literally 'fort') being synonymous with 'district headquarters.' Not unlike his predecessor, Doopgein Shepton exercised both temporal and spiritual authority, although his successors deemed the two realms (of authority) to be incompatible. This led to the institution of a Dewan or Minister who was to exercise temporal power. It was this office of the Minister which gradually acquired the name of 'Dug Desi' or the more familiar Deb Raja, the temporal ruler. It was he who attended principally to the general administration of the state, dealt with foreign powers, managed income, revenue and other aspects of the state government including the provision of food and shelter for the lamas. The firm evolution of this institution is ascribed to Dugom Dorji, better known as Shabdung Nawang Namgayal who in his twenty-third year, in 1557, took control of the country.⁵⁹ It was during his reign of 35 years that Bhutan was, for the first time, unified. Most of the country's big forts and monasteries- Paro-jong, burnt down in 1907, and Punakha, now the country's summer capital and originally a School of Medicine and a monastery designed to accommodate 600 monks- were built during this period.

More germane to the present discussion, however, is the fact that it was Dugom Dorji who invested one of his abbots, Tensig Dukyag, with the powers and functions of the first Dug Desi or Deb Raja. This duality of functions provides an interesting, and indeed fascinating subject for study. Thus it is noticeable that the office of the Deb Raja who, in theory, was elected by a Council of Penlops and dzongpons was, in practice, held by the strongest of the governors—either the Paro Penlop or the Tongsa Penlop. Besides, Bhutan's history during the past three hundred and odd years, since Dugom Dorji, could scarcely be understood without unravelling the nature of the relationship between the Dharam Raja on the one hand and the Deb Raja on the other: 'Their disputes furnish the chronicles of Bhutan- which bear accounts of

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bloody struggles for power among the nobility on almost every page- with an additional grim chapter.⁷¹ Again, in 1907, an incarnation of the then-recently deceased Dharam Raja was not found, as a result whereof the institution itself became extinct.

Bhutan's relations with British India were of a dual significance. For besides opening up the country, these offered an opportunity of establishing commercial intercourse with Tibet. The pattern was somewhat familiar for initially Bhutanese incursions into the districts of Cooch-Bihar are said to have furnished an occasion for intervention. The latter's ruler had appealed for help to Warren Hastings who, for a variety of reasons, thought that this would afford him a long-sought for avenue for opening up trade contacts with Tibet. Hence followed, in the last quarter of the 18th century, the missions of George Bogle and Samuel Turner to Bhutan and Shigatse, the seat of the Panchen Lama in Tibet. It was the latter who had interceded with the British to save his ward, the Deb Raja of Bhutan. Both the missions were in the nature of commercial reconnaissance of neighbouring lands and their chief significance lay in the fact that the route to Tibet lay through Bhutan, whose government was averse to any intercourse with the British in India.⁷² Nor, for that matter, did the Bhutanese seem to learn any lesson from their earlier experience, for they persisted in their career of repeated incursions into neighbouring lands.

The relations between the East India Company and the Government of Bhutan remained somewhat uneventful until 1815 when the British took steps to settle the boundary disputes with the Deb Raja.⁷³ After their occupation of Assam, in 1826, relations

71. Rene von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Where Gods are Mountains*, (London, 1956), p. 165.

72. For a detailed analysis reference may be made to the originals — Clements R. Markham (Editor), *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet*, (London, 1876) and Samuel Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, (London, 1806). Reference may also be made to Schuyler Cammann, *Trade Through the Himalayas* (Princeton, 1952) and P. L. Mehra, *The Younghusband Expedition: an Interpretation*, (Bombay, 1967).

73. Intervening between Bogle (1774) and Turner (1783), White refers to the two missions of Hamilton in 1775-76 and again in 1777. Hamilton

with Bhutan had necessarily to be reviewed owing to the continued intrusions of the Bhutanese into the Duars. The latter, literally 'doors or passage-ways', dotted the frontier between Bhutan and British territory in Assam and Bengal. Actually, there were 18 of them- 11 on the Bhutan-Bengal frontier and 7 on the Bhutan-Assam border.⁷⁴ Of the latter, the two bordering the Darrang district of Assam were held alternately by the British and the Bhutan governments, while the remaining five, bordering the Kamrup district in Assam, were under the sole control of the Bhutanese.

Even before the British assumed authority in Assam, the Bhutanese were in possession of parts of the Duars and were paying annual tribute to the Deb and the Dharam rajas. The former, however, suggested deferring the deputation of the envoy until an embassy of his reached Calcutta which, in retrospect, never did. Now it was the turn of the British and, in 1837, a Mission under R. Boileau Pemberton was despatched to Bhutan.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the envoy's long-drawn-out negotiations proved singularly barren of results. The British thereupon decided to pay Rs. 10,000/- annually to the Bhutanese if they kept the peace and desisted from mounting raids on the plains, through the Duars.

The above arrangement nonetheless proved to be a temporary palliative for hostilities on the frontier did not cease and raids continued through the Bijnee and Kalling duars in the Darrang districts. In 1863, Sir Ashley Eden was sent to Bhutan to 'revise and improve the relations then existing between the British government and Bhutan.' A treaty to this effect was negotiated providing inter alia, that the Bhutanese government would make good the loss caused by plunder and raids and that the territory of the kingdom would be restored. The treaty also envisaged the introduction of free trade between Bhutan and the neighbouring provinces of British India. Although Eden had been invested with the

had initially been appointed as Surgeon to attend upon Bogle when the latter entered Bhutan on his way to Tashilhunpo. White, *op.cit.*, pp. 241, 249-50.

74. White, *op.cit.*, p. 269, gives a list of these: Assam (seven) duars — Booree Goomah, Kalling, Churkolla, Bauksa, Chappagorie, Chappakamar and Bijni; Bengal (eleven) Duars — Dalingkote, Zumerkote, Chamurchi, Suckee, Buxa, Bhulka, Bara, Goomar, Keepo, Cherrung, Bagh or Bijni.

75. R. B. Pemberton, *Report on Bhutan* (Calcutta, 1839).

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fullest authority to negotiate, the Governor-General pleaded that his envoy had been treated insultingly and had appended his signature to the compact 'under compulsion.'⁷⁶ Nor did the British decision- to repudiate Eden- stand by itself, being followed as it was by the annexation of the Fallakota taluka and of Kalimpong to their territory. Later, in 1864, the western duars were also annexed. In 1865, the Bhutanese attacked Dewangiri when the British had to beat a hasty retreat. This led to an open outbreak of hostilities and before long the Bhutanese sued for peace. At Sinchula, on November 11, 1865, a treaty was concluded whereby Bhutan agreed to cede all the 18 Duars to the British. In lieu of this cession of territory, the Government of India promised an allowance of Rs. 25,000 annually, a figure which was three years later raised to Rs. 50,000.⁷⁷

In the subsequent history of Bhutan and British India, the Treaty of Sinchula constitutes an important landmark. For ever since its conclusion, it has continued to form the basis of the relationship between the two countries. Inter alia, the British now undertook to mediate in the disputes between Bhutan on the one hand and Sikkim and Cooch-Behar on the other. A major revision of the treaty was undertaken in 1910.⁷⁸ This came in the wake of Manchu China raking up an old, if shadowy claim to authority in Bhutan follow as it did its establishment of a strong rule in Lhasa. The latter was a result of the Younghusband expedition and seemed to be a natural reaction to it.⁷⁹ Nor did the treaty come a day too soon. The British reply, as that of the Govern-

76. For an historical account, Ashley Eden, *Political Missions to Bhutan* (Calcutta, 1865). 'But the utter failure of the (Ashley Eden) Mission was crowned by the insults upon the envoy himself. In fear of his life he had to sign a treaty surrendering the very lands in dispute.' Lionel James Trotter, *History of India under Queen Victoria from 1836-1880* (London, 1886).

77. For an excellent account of the war see David Field Rennie, *Bhoo-tan and the History of the Dooar War* (London, 1866).

78. For negotiations leading to the conclusion of the Treaty of 1910, as also the text thereof see Bell, *Tibet*, pp. 99-106 and Appendix XI, p. 297.

79. For Bhutan's role in the Younghusband Expedition see the author's 'The Younghusband Expedition, an Interpretation', *op.cit.* Reference may also be made to Peter Fleming, *Bayonets to Lhasa* (London, 1961) and Alastair Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1960).

ment of India in more recent years, was couched in a familiar tone: Bhutan was independent of China, its external relations were controlled by the Government of India nor would the latter tolerate any attempt by China to exercise influence there.⁸⁰

In the wake of India's independence, and the Standstill Agreement of 1947, a formal treaty, in 1949, placed India's relations with Bhutan on a firm footing. Not only was New Delhi prepared to enhance the annual subsidy but, as a gesture of goodwill, ceded a 32-mile tract known as Dewangiri, which had been taken by the British. Besides, the Treaty provided for free trade between India and Bhutan, the former affording facilities for the carriage, by land and water, of Bhutanese produce. India also allows Bhutan the use of forest roads along the border. The country is also free to import, through India, whatever arms and ammunition are needed for its defence and well-being. The Reserve Bank of India looks after the foreign exchange requirements of Bhutan and although there is no ceiling as such on Government's import license, the total annual imports have been in the neighbourhood of Rs. 300,000. The chief importance of the Treaty of 1949, however, lies in the willingness of the Maharaja 'to be guided' by the advice of New Delhi in regard to the conduct of his foreign relations. On its part, the Government of India has agreed to keep away from all interference in the internal administration of the country. The annual subsidy too has been raised to Rs. 500,000.⁸¹

An interesting subject for study which may prove extremely useful and revealing concerns the descriptions that have come to us of the people and the country by British officers who, for most part, went there in their official capacity. It is significant that while the accounts of Bogle and Turner, later of John Claude White and of Sir Charles Alfred Bell are complimentary: those of Captain Pemberton, Ashley Eden and of Dr. William Griffiths border almost on the invective.⁸² A question that has

80. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 5240, No. 332. Also Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London, 1946), p. 85.

81. For the full text of the Treaty of August 8, 1949, see *Indian Year Book of International Affairs*, op.cit., pp. 295-98.

82. R. B. Pemberton, *Report on Bhutan* (Calcutta, 1905), Ashley Eden *Report on the State of Bhutan* (Calcutta, 1865) and William Griffiths, *Journal of the Mission which visited Bootan in 1837-38 under Captain R. B.*

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so far not been adequately answered is whether the rough treatment meted out to some of these envoys, and the complete failure of their missions, alone were responsible for the bitterness which their narratives breathe. It would no doubt be a sobering thought, and an intellectual exercise of no mean proportions, to weigh fully and objectively all available evidence on the subject and reach some definite conclusions.

The governance of Bhutan is simply organised. The King is assisted by the National Assembly on the Tsongdu as well as his Councillors. There is also a Central Secretariat while administrative officers are spread all over the country.

The 'Tsongdu' has a membership of 126 of whom 50 are elected, the rest being nominees of the Maharaja and includes important government officials, influential lamas as well as the chief priest of Punakha. For purposes of election each village, or a group of small villages, elects on the basis of one vote for each family, a person for nomination as headman. Later he is formally appointed to this office by the King. These headmen, in their turn, elect representatives to the Assembly, wherein the Chief Secretary acts as the Speaker.

Among the King's councillors are the Chief Secretary, the Deputy Chief Secretary, the Thimphu and the Punakha Thrimphons, a representative each of the Lamas and of the Agent to the Government of Bhutan. The secretariat is headed by the Chief Secretary who supervises the work of the subordinate administrative officers.

It is hardly necessary to remind oneself that the present hereditary monarchy dates back to 1907 when Sir U-gyen Wangchuk, the then Tongsa Penlop, was chosen unanimously by the lamas, the Penlops, the Dzongpons, and the headmen of the country as their Maharaja.⁸³ The present incumbent, Jigme

Pemberton (Calcutta, 1839). Reference may also be made to Bell, *Tibet*, pp. 99-106 and White, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-83 and 211-36.

⁸³ White, then Political Officer, had been invited 'to be present' as the Maharaja's 'guest' and as 'representative of the British Government' at his installation as hereditary Maharaja of Bhutan. He gives a vivid account of

Wangchuk, is the third in the line and is assisted by a Council. Some of the reforms which he initiated are of significance: freeing of 5,000 slaves and giving them a choice between continuing with their masters or setting up independently as farmers. He ended also the traditional Bhutanese custom of prostrating before the King and senior officials. He has set up schools and restricted individual ownership of land to 30 acres while at the same time modernising the system of taxation.

Relations with India have shown a greater measure of mutual confidence symbolised by a recent exchange of visits. Thus in April-May 1966, the King during a state visit to India referred to the 'help and advice furnished by the Government of India' which were of 'great value' and, 'appreciated by our Government.' New Delhi also took the opportunity to reiterate its earlier position that it considered Bhutan's defence as 'part of its own defence.'⁸¹ Earlier, in February (1966) the then Indian Minister for External Affairs had paid a two-day visit to Thimpu⁸⁵ while later in December the Minister of State for External Affairs visited the state for four days. At its end he referred to an Indian team of experts suggesting modifications of Bhutan's educational pattern and another exploring the possibility of setting up industrial and other projects based on the natural resources of the country. The Minister affirmed that there was no proposal then of foreign assistance to Bhutan but it was the King's wish that 'it be channelled' through India.⁸⁶

Symptomatic of the threat posed to Bhutan's security by the People's Republic is the recent decision of the King to provide compulsory military training to all able-bodied men between 20

Sir Ugyen's elevation to the guddi during his (White's) second mission to the country repeating the pledge which the assembled gathering took:

'We now declare our allegiance to him and his heirs with unchanging mind, and undertake to serve him and his heirs loyally and faithfully to the best of our ability. Should anyone not abide by this contract by saying this and that, he shall altogether be turned out of our company.'

White, *op.cit.*, pp. 211-36.

84. *Asian Recorder*, 1966, p. 7129.

85. *Ibid.*, 1966, p. 7005.

86. *Ibid.*, 1967, p. 7505.

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and 50. While details of the scheme remain to be worked out, training is to be provided for three months every year, over a period of three years.⁸⁷ Lately there had been news too of Peking deploying, across the border, a Chinese division specialised in sabotage. This was in addition to Chinese forces, across the border, massed 'in a position of strength' over many years now.⁸⁸

In October, 1961 Bhutan launched its first 5-Year Plan. A team of the Indian Planning Commission which visited the country submitted a report on programmes for development involving an outlay of Rs. 18 crores spread over a period of five years. New Delhi later agreed to give financial aid for these programmes. In September, 1961 India and Bhutan signed a pact to harness the river Jadhaka for hydro-electric power. An agreement has also been signed with Sweden for using the forest resources of the country, more particularly the southern parts, for setting up a paper industry. The major emphasis in the first 5 Year Plan is on road and transport development.⁸⁹

Since 1960 the Government of India has launched an ambitious road development plan. In this context, three north-south roads from the Indian border to central Bhutan are being built in addition to the Phunchholing-Paro highway completed in 1962. A lateral east-west road, connecting the north-south highway, has been planned across central Bhutan and was scheduled to be completed in 1966. An off-shoot from this highway will lead to Thimbu, the new permanent capital of the country. The new road-link has reduced the time taken for going to Bhutan from the Indian border from six days to 10 hours by jeep.

A word here may not be out of place regarding the pattern of Bhutan's relationship with the neighbouring land of Tibet. Traditionally, Bhutanese rice used to sell in Tibet at very high prices bringing in return supplies of salt, wool and (Chinese) silver dollars. With the Communists in Lhasa, however, came paper currency which was virtually forced upon the unwilling

87. *Ibid.*, 1967, p. 7723.

88. *Ibid.*, 1967, p. 7833.

89. Sir U-gyen Wangchuk, the first Maharaja of Bhutan, died in 1923 and was succeeded by his son, Sir Jigme Wangchuk.

traders. The latter, besides being subjected to continuous harassment, were exposed to insidious propaganda. In 1959, in the wake of the March Rebellion in Lhasa, the Bhutan government banned all trade with Tibet and a year later withdrew its trade representative in Lhasa. One direct result of cutting off the country from all links with the north has been inevitable gravitational pull to the south for the surplus Bhutanese rice now comes to rice-hungry West Bengal by its new jeepable road.

The Ghazanvids in the Punjab

BY

SRI RAM SHARMA

When Shihab-ud-Din succeeded in replacing the Ghazanvids at Lahore, he could claim authority only in such parts of the Punjab as Ghazanvids had held at that time. The area that acknowledged Shihab-ud-Din as its new lord and master included the plains of what in the twentieth century emerged as the North-western Frontier Province and of the Punjab on the Western side of the Satluj. The Ghorids stationed garrison commanders and rulers of the surrounding areas at Peshawar, Multan, Sialkot and Lahore. Even in the plains in the area under the Kakhers, from the banks of the Indus to the foothills of Shivalak, the Ghorid claim to rule was as lightly treated as that of the Ghazanvids had been.

The Punjab hills were dotted over with states enjoying varying degrees of independence from their own neighbours but all free from any control by the Ghazanvid and now the Ghorid rulers. The genealogy of Kulu kings no doubt mentions that about 1150 Sikandar Pal of Kulu went to Delhi and brought the king of Delhi to Kulu as far north as Mansarovar and asserted his sovereignty on the Mansarovar area as well as Kulu, exacting tribute from both.¹ Neither Tomar tradition nor that of the Chauhans makes any such claim. Delhi did not yet have a Muslim King. It is difficult to believe that this Kulu tradition refers to any historical event, as distinct from legendary or mythical memory, that took place in the eleventh century.

Punjab hills then were divided among themselves by rulers big and small, claiming authority in this area from Bushahr (now in Himachal Pradesh) to Jammu and from Mansarovar to Kangra. We have Kulu, Bushahr, Lahul, Nalagarh, Bilaspur under Gian

1. Vogel and Hutchinson, I, 488.

Chand, Jammu under Anant Dev, Bhati, Bashohli, probably under Prithi Pal, Bhadna Balur, Kashtwar and Rajuri (all in Jammu province of Jammu and Kashmir State now), Lahora, Kangra under Jayachandar, Jaswan under Parab Chand and Nurrur (all in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh now) Chamba, Mandi, Suket and Nalagarh.²

Of these no state except Kangra had experienced a Muslim invasion. Mahmud is said to have conquered Kangra and desecrated the fort. But a Tomar ruler of Delhi roused the countryside by the story that the lord of Nagarkot had appeared to him in a dream and suggested that he lay buried in the neighbourhood of the old shrine, waiting to be installed into his rightful place in the fort. He conquered Kangra from the Ghazanvids. This, however, did not bring it under Delhi. It remained an independent state, possibly in friendly relations with Tomars of Delhi.

While the Ghorids were supplanting the Ghazanvids in Afghanistan, Delhi also saw a turn of the wheel of fortune about the middle of the twelfth century. Tomars, a Rajput tribe, had built the city of Delhi in the 'country of Hariyana, a very heaven on earth'.³ Probably as the termination of a long drawn-out series of hostilities between the Tomars of Delhi and Chauhans of Sambhar (Ajmer) Delhi passed into the hands of the Chauhans some time before 1164.⁴ With it went the country of Hariyana, represented by the Districts of Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Karnal. Ghazanvids had made an attempt at biting off a slice of this territory about the middle of the eleventh century when Majdud occupied Hansi in 1040 and tried to take Thanesar.⁵ But the subsequent emancipation of Kangra from the Muslim control by the forces of Delhi amply suggests that the Tomars had won back the lost area and naturally the Chauhans inherited it all from the Tomars. The Shivalak Pillar inscription of 1220 A. V. (1164 A.D.) declares that Visaldev Chauhan 'exterminated

2. Vogel and Hutchinson, I and II.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, 93-95.

4. *Ibid.*, XIX, 218.

5. Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, III.

the Mlechhas and made Aryavarta once more the abode of the Aryas'.⁶ The Bijoli inscription of 1164 A.D. claims that he conquered Delhi and Ashika (Hauji.)⁷

The Hindu rulers who fought against Mahmud or his successors were not all Rajputs. In the twelfth century when we come across Tomars, Chauhans, Rashtrakutas and Gaharwalas, we do not find any of them claiming their origin from the legendary Agnikund at Mount Abu when the Rajputs are said to have arisen to take the place of the ancient Kshatriyas who had vanished from the face of this earth. Today the Chauhans do trace their origins to the Agnikund (sacrificial fire) at Mount Abu,⁸ but it is interesting to note that the records of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries do not make any such claim for them. Though the origin of the tribe is traced, at its earliest, to Vasudeva in 551 A.D. in the *Prabandh Kosha*,⁹ it acquired an independent ruler about 973 A.D. when Vigrahdev was its head.¹⁰ We next hear of Ajayaraj who founded the city of Ajmer.¹¹

The story of the conflict between the Chauhans of Sambhar and the Muslims begins very early with Govindraj who is credited with having inflicted a defeat on Mahmud of Ghazani by *Prabandhakosa*.¹² Vir Singh is said to have been killed in a battle against the Matangas (Mlechhas) in the second half of the eleventh century.¹³ Aroraraja is credited with having defeated the Turks somewhere near Pushkar,¹⁴ late in the second quarter of the twelfth century. His son Visal Dev (1153-1164) is stated to have defeated the Mlechhas several times. The Khizrabad Ashokan

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, 215-219.

7. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1886, I, 36, 42.

8. Cf. Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*.

9. Hultzsch, *Report of Sanskrit Mss in Southern India*, II, 112; J.R.A.S., 1913, 269, No. 2.

10. Harsh Stone Inscription of 973 A.D. edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *Indian Antiquary*, XIX, 57-64.

11. *Paramabhattacharak*, 64, J.R.A.S., 1913, 272-73.

12. J.R.A.S., 1913, 269.

13. *Prabandhakosha*, Sarga, V.

14. *Ibid.*, Sarga, VI.

Pillar inscription¹⁵ (now in Delhi) claims that he was master of the entire area from Vindhyachal to the Himalayas. This may have been poetic exaggeration. But as he was lord of Delhi and Ashika (Hansi), there is no reason to doubt that his territories marched along with those of the Ghazanvids with whom he must have come into conflict. Prithvi Raj II is described as master of Hansi and it is asserted that a commander of his crossed the Satluj and defeated the (Muslim) ruler of Pakpatan.¹⁶

Thus when Visal Dev's minor son, Prithvi Raj III,¹⁷ came to the throne in about 1178, there already was a long tradition of conflict between the rulers of Sambhar and their neighbouring Muslim masters of the plains of the Punjab on the other side of the Satluj. His mother as a regent for her son¹⁸ may have become concerned when Shihab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghori took Multan in 1178 from its Karamathian rulers. *Prithviraja Vijaya* would have us believe that after assuming the reins of government Prithviraj sent a messenger to Shihab-ud-Din probably asking him to desist from further inroads. This seems to have occurred just before the fall of Nadaul. Soon however came the welcome news that the enemy had been defeated in Gujarat.¹⁹ Naturally the messenger must have been sent by the queen mother as Gujarat inflicted a defeat on the Ghoris in 1178 when Prithviraj was still a minor.

After the capture of Lahore and imprisonment of its last Ghazanvid ruler in 1186, Shihab-ud-Din remained content with what he had inherited from the Ghazanvids in the plains of the Punjab for some time. It is doubtful if it gave him any territory beyond the Bias though it is certain that he acquired no dominions beyond the Satluj.

Indian rulers seem to have been slow to take notice of this change in the masters of Lahore. The Ghazanvids in the Punjab had long ceased to be a danger to the rest of the country. It is easy to visualize that to the Indian rulers beyond the Satluj the

15. *Indian Antiquary*, XIX, 215-19.

16. *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, pp. 12-13.

17. *Prithviraja Vijaya*, 191-196.

18. *Ibid.*, 212.

19. *Firishta*, I, 56; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 185.

changes in the rulers of Lahore did not seem to presage any danger even to the rest of the Punjab beyond the Satluj. On his own side Shihab-ud-Din seems to have learnt a lesson from his defeat in Gujrat in 1178. He was busy consolidating his gains in the Punjab.

It was only in 1191 A.D. that Shihab-ud-Din dared look beyond the Ghazanvid dominions. Even here the Rajput tradition has it that it was his Rajput neighbour on the other side of the Ghazanvid Punjab who moved out to challenge the new Muslim masters of Lahore. Prithviraj had by now taken the reins of government in his own hands.²⁰ He was a restless ruler who tried to bring up all the feuds the Chauhans had ever been nursing and in pursuing them he seems to have made many enemies among them whom he pulled down from their proud position.²¹ He was master of Ajmer and Delhi. A large part of Rajputana and the whole of the Punjab beyond probably the Bias seems to have acknowledged him as a lord and master. His capital was Ajmer. As stated earlier the Chauhans seem to have acquired Delhi and Hariyana from Tomars of Delhi by 1164. Delhi does not seem to have continued if it ever was, under the Tomars—as the capital of the Ajmer—Hariyana composite kingdom. But Prithviraj built a fort here which probably served as the headquarters of his administration there.

If the queen mother had taken notice of the Ghorid menace in the seventies, Prithviraj was not to be left behind. It is claimed in Rajput tradition that it was his forward march that compelled Shihab-ud-Din Ghori to move out of Lahore. We do not know the route he followed out of Lahore. It is likely that he avoided the Jullundur route and crossed the Satluj below its junction with the Beas. The rulers of Kangra were probably still the 'lords of Trigarta', the land of three rivers up the hills, and masters of Jullundur. The first considerable Hindu force seems to have been stationed at Sirhind.²² As its name implied, it was considered by

20. *Prithviraj Vijaya*, 232, 233.

21. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 28.

22. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 38, describes the place as Sirhind, so does *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 185, though the editor in the note seems to hark back upon to Pathinda of Firishta. Badayuni has Taharhind and so have several Mss of *Tabaqat-i-Nasari* as noted by Raverty. But the printed text of J. 17

the Muslims as the gateway to India proper. It is likely that it had passed into the hands of Chauhans along with the rest of the Tomar dominions when the Chauhans acquired Hariyana. It was certainly not a part of the Ghazanvid legacy of the Ghorids. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* seems to imply that in the past it had been held (successively) by great rulers of India.²³ *Firishta* however suggests that it was under the ruler of Ajmer and his commander held it.²⁴ It seems to have been treated as an outpost of the Ajmer kingdom rather than a possible gateway to India beyond it and therefore to be stoutly guarded. As such the garrison does not seem to have been able to offer much stout resistance. Shihab-ud-Din seems to have been content with its acquisition and nursed no further plans.²⁵ Malik Zia-ud-Din, son of Qazi Muhammad Abdus Salim was placed in command of the fort.²⁶ Raverty has put in a 'the' before Qazi and seems to imply that Malik Zia-ud-Din had been earlier known as Qazi Muhammad Abdus Salim.²⁷ The Persian text of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasari* makes Zia-ud-Din a son of Qari Abdus Salam. Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din,²⁸ Badayuni²⁹ and *Firishta*³⁰ all declare that Zia-ud-Din Tulaki was placed in charge of the fort without implying that he had ever been a Qazi or been known as such. Besides the forces that Zia-ud-Din commanded himself, an additional force of 1200 selected horsemen from Tulak were told off for garrison duty here. Shihab-ud-Din had planned to go back to Ghazni and his commander was assured that his spell of duty at Sirhind would last only eight months when he would be relieved.³¹ Fates however decreed otherwise.

Prithviraj had meanwhile bestirred himself. He seems to have realized by now that the new master of the Punjab was not likely

even the *Tabaqat* has Sirhind. Whatever Tabarhind may have designated elsewhere here it seems clear that Sirhind is implied rather than Pathinda of *Firishta*.

23. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I.

24. *Firishta*, I, 57.

25. *Tabaqat-i-Nasari*, 118.

26. *Ibid.*, 118.

27. *Ibid.*, 118.

28. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 38.

29. Badayuni, I, 49.

30. *Firishta*, I, 57.

31. Raverty, I, 458.

to be content with what he had acquired from the Ghazanvids. Even if he was bent upon plunder, Prithviraj decided that it was time to prevent him from carrying out any such designs. He seems to have issued a call for help to his neighbours probably as soon as he heard of Shihab-ud-Din's return to the Punjab. His call for joint resistance under his lead seems to have been well answered. Even if all the rulers of Hind had not hastened to join his standard as *Tabaqat-i-Nasari* claims,³² at least a number of Rajput princes must have done so. Later Rajput tradition claims that the ruler of Mewar was among those who answered Prithviraj's call for a united front though it has the name of the ruler wrong.³³ Samant Singh was the ruler of Mewar at this time.³⁴ We know that Udayavarman Paramar was ruling in Bhopal,³⁵ Vindyavatanam, another scion of the Paramar house was in possession of Dhar.³⁶ Vijaya Singh Kalcuhun held sway in Baghelkhand.³⁷ Pajim Kachwaha of Amber who had married a sister of Prithviraj is said to have been present in the battle field with him.³⁸ Solākhānpal of Gwalior,³⁹ Krishanraj Paimar of Abu,⁴⁰ Som Singh Dharavarsha and Udai Singh of the Maru country⁴¹ and Vindhavarman of Malwa⁴² seem to have been other contemporary rulers. Raja Jatwan seems to have held sway near about Hansi.⁴³ Gujarat of Bhim may seem to lie too far away to make a united stand with Prithviraj, but his subsequent encounters with the Muslim rulers in the country round about Aimer would suggest that his army might have been present at this clash between the Chauhan forces and Ghorid armies. The

32. *Tabaqat-i-Nasari*, 118, 119.

33. Ranchhod, Canto III, verses 24 and 27.

34. Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, I, 254.

35. Bhopal Grant of Udayavarman in *Indian Antiquary*, XVI, 252-56.

36. *Sagaradharmamrita*, p. 1.

37. Reva Stone Inscription in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1921, 52.

38. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII, 384-85, *Archaeological Survey Report*, II, 370 ff.

39. *Taj-ul-Masair* in Elliot, 221.

40. Abu Inscription of 1230 in *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 208-19.

41. *Hamiramalmardana*, II, 8.

42. *Sagaradharmamrita*, 3.

43. *Firishta*, I, 62.

Rajas of the Punjab hills do not seem to have played any part in this united front; had they done so, we must have heard of their pursuit of Ghorid forces after their defeat. Prithviraj is said to have indulged in an incursion into Kalanjar which was under the Kalchuris. It is possible that Raja Parnardi of Kalinjar remained aloof as his country had been run over and plundered by Prithviraj as late as 1182.⁴⁴ Tradition also has it that Raja Jai Chand of Qanoj was also at daggers drawn with Prithviraj for reasons variously stated by Rajput traditions. But he could not have felt offended at his Tomar maternal grandfather's making Prithviraj his successor in preference to himself⁴⁵ because Tomars had lost Delhi long before Prithviraj came to the throne—as we have already seen by at least 1164. That Prithviraj had offended Jai Chand by carrying away his daughter, Samyogita as a bride,⁴⁶ may appeal to the romantic in a reader, but Chand Bardai's account of the whole affair seems to be more poetic than accurate. Organizing a celebration where his daughter would choose her husband seems to be a far-off cry to a remote past. Alberuni who wrote in the eleventh century does not seem to have noticed the custom, nor do we have any other contemporary or semi-contemporary example to suggest that this method of choosing a bridegroom prevailed among the Rajputs at this time. The story of the rivalry of Jai Chand and Prithviraj for suzerainty in Northern India⁴⁷ again seems to be baseless as neither in territories nor in his military strength could Jai Chand claim any equivalence with Prithviraj who seems to have been master of the Punjab on this side of Satluj, Hariyana, Ajmer and with it the larger portions of Rajputana. Jai Chand's dominions do not seem to have extended much beyond Qanoj and its neighbourhood.⁴⁸ He could not have claimed to be the sovereign lord even of Northern India, much less of India, and could not therefore have had performed a *Yajna*

44. Madanpur Stone Inscription of 1239, A. V. in *Archaeological Survey of India*, XXI, 173-74.

45. Elphinstone, 354; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 157, 158, 159.

46. Rose, *Kulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 157-59; *Prithviraj Raso*, 142-156.

47. *Khulasat-ut-Tawzrikh*, 157-59.

48. The fall of Qanoj does not seem to have given the Ghorids a very large territory. They had to fight against several other independent rulers in the neighbourhood in order to establish their authority even in the eastern districts of the plains of the modern Uttar Pradesh.

as *Prithviraja-Raso* claims. The entire story of Prithviraj's slighting him by refusing to attend a ceremony which never took place and adding further insult to injury by carrying away his daughter in the face of all the assembled guests is a fabrication of a poet's fertile brain and has found its way into history because some historians could not make a distinction between a romance and history. But *Raso's* account⁴⁹ may have this much of truth in it that Jai Chand was not one of the Rajas who marched out at this time to oppose Muhammad Ghori.

The host under Prithviraj was not content to wait for Shihab-ud-Din's marching into the territory in Indian hands. Gathering his forces at Ajmer Prithviraj marched on till he entered Hariyana. Naturally he must have drawn upon his local military forces here as well. Prithviraj came up as far as Tarain on the banks of the river Sarasvati at a distance of seven krohs (some 14 miles) from Thanesar, known in the sixteenth century by the name of Tarawari according to Badayuni and Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din and distant forty krohs (60 miles) from Delhi.⁵⁰ Firishta puts the Indian forces at 2,00,000 horse and 3,000 elephants.⁵¹ No estimate of the forces under Shihab-ud-Din has come down to us. Firishta's figures look exaggerated but the combined Indian armies must have numbered not less than one lac. Firishta puts Jai Pal's host that consisted of all the Rajas of Hind at one lac in 991 A.D.⁵² It is doubtful if Prithviraj could have brought together twice as many soldiers now when Punjab and Multan had been lost to the Ghorids.

Shihab-ud-Din left Sirhind and marched out south to meet the Indian host. At Tarain, he found his way barred by Prithviraj's host. The Indian forces seem to have been here for some time. On arrival Shihab-ud-Din had no choice left as to the field of battle. Shihab-ud-Din divided his army into the right, the left and the centre wings, keeping an advance party in front. His army could

49. *Prithvi Raj Raso*, 142 to 158.

50. *Tabaqat*, I, Badayuni, I.

51. *Firishta*, I, 57.

52. *Firishta*, I, 20.

not have numbered less than 50,000. For him to advance to seek battle with a lesser force would have been a folly, particularly when he had once been vanquished in battle in Gujarat.

Prithviraj's army is said to have been a composite force. Besides the army of Ajmer and Hansi of his own, the contingent of allies must have been placed under their own leaders without much possibility of a coordinated plan or an integrated action. They all seem to have been fired with a zeal to beat back the invaders.

When the two armies came to clash, the battle raged fiercely. The Indian arms made a quick work of the advance party and thrust it back, on the centre where stood the seasoned Afghan and Khilji troops who had gained a name for themselves on many a battle-field. On the Rajputs came and most of the centre was destroyed in the fierce clash that followed. The right and the left now felt the pressure of the Rajput blades and here again the heroes of many battles among the Muslim troops sought safety in flight. One of his chiefs now came up to Shihab-ud-Din, reported the disaster that had overtaken his arms and counselled flight. Rather than do so, Shihab-ud-Din tried to make a last-minute stand, and rallying what was left of his centre, jumped where the battle raged most fiercely. Prithviraj's brother Govind Rao, who led the Rajput centre, noticed the stand that the Muslim centre was trying to make, discovered that it was led by Shihab-ud-Din and moved his elephants towards him. Shihab-ud-Din spurred his horse to meet the attack, parried the first blow, and struck a blow at Govind Raj with his spear so as to make him lose several of his teeth. Nothing daunted Govind Raj struck with his sword at Shihab-ud-Din's arm so hard that he almost fell from his horse.⁵³ One version has it that seeing his flight, one of the Khilji soldiers on foot at once jumped on to Shihab-ud-Din's horse to support his falling chief and spurred his horse out of the battle-field. Meanwhile the entire Ghorid army had taken to its heels in a hasty flight. The contemporary account tells us that it did not draw reins till it had put forty miles between it and the enemy. The intrepid

53. *Firishta*, I, 57; *Tabaqat-i-Nasari*, 118, 119, *Hamir Mahakavya*, 7; *Parbhandchintamani*, 21; *Prabandhakosha*, 7.

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soldier who had taken charge of his wounded leader followed suit and took Shihab-ud-Din to the same shelter.⁵⁴

But a near contemporary⁵⁵ tells us that Govind Raj's blow unseated Shihab-ud-Din from his horse and he fell bleeding on the battle-field. The havoc brought by the Rajputs was so intense and the consternation which had overtaken the Muslim army so profound that Shihab-ud-Din was left behind uncared for on the battlefield. When the night covered the battlefield in its darkness, a party of his Turkish slaves that had discovered the absence of its master came quietly searching for him among the dead and the dying. Shihab-ud-Din recognized their voice and called out to them. They hastened to his aid and carried him away to safety on their backs in turn.

Shihab-ud-Din seems to have stayed at Sirhind for some time and then hastened back to Ghazni. Here he left the Afghan chiefs alone but the Turk Khurasani and Khilji leaders of the army that had left him for dead on the battlefield were chosen for public disgrace. Bags full of barley were tied round their necks, they were paraded in the bazaar of Ghazni with the instruction that they should eat the barley while on parade on pains of death. They were forbidden the royal presence and Shihab-ud-Din refused to speak to any of them. On his own part Shihab-ud-Din spent the year in austere living. He is said to have kept the same dress unchanged throughout the period.⁵⁶

Prithviraj seems to have been unaware that the leader of the Muslim army had been left wounded on the battlefield. No immediate attempt was made to follow the Muslim army in its flight; it might have been presumed that the country was well rid of them. The failure to pursue the enemy was a great blunder which was to cost the allies dear.

But Prithviraj soon moved forward to Sirhind which was actively besieged. Wiser by the fate of battle, Shihab-ud-Din seems to have left here a much larger force than the 1,200 horse that had earlier been told off to hold it. It stood a rigorous siege

54. Raverty, *Evishtia*, I, 57.

55. *Taj-ul-Maasir*, cited in *Firishta*, I, 57.

56. *Firishta*, I, 57.

for 13 long months when the garrison commander finally surrendered the fort.⁵⁷

A spurious tradition suggests that it was after this battle that Prithviraj carried away as his bride, Samyogita, daughter of Jai Chand of Qanoj. It has been suggested that stung by this open insult, Jai Chand sent an ambassador to Ghazni inviting Shihab-ud-Din to invade India again when he would help him.⁵⁸ The *Prithviraj-Raso* on the other hand suggests that some of his own chiefs who were disgusted with Prithviraj's neglect of affairs of state after his marriage to Samyogita invited Shihab-ud-Din,⁵⁹ *Prithvirajavijaya* acknowledges that Prithviraj gave himself up to self-indulgence. *Hamir Mahakavaya* and *Prithviraj-Raso* both however assert that this shocked leaders of his army so much that they invited Shihab-ud-Din Ghorī to Delhi.

Contemporary Muslim sources, however, leave no room for any such extra excuse for Shihab-ud-Din's invasion in 1193. Shihab-ud-Din had been gathering a strong and experienced army together ever since his defeat in 1192. He had at least 1,07,000 soldiers, Afghans, Turks and Tajiks who were all the pick of their tribes. At their head he sallied forth without disclosing his objective. When they encamped at Peshawar, an intrepid old Ghorī chief made bold to ask Shihab-ud-Din where he intended to lead this large host. It was now that Shihab-ud-Din declared that he was marching out to wipe out the disgrace of his earlier defeat.⁶⁰ Shihab-ud-Din could not have kept his objective undisclosed if he had received an invitation to attack Prithviraj either from his own chiefs or from Jai Chand. Their agents would then have been with the invading army and the objective of the Sultan could not have been kept a secret from Ghazni to Peshawar.

At Peshawar then Shihab-ud-Din put his forces in order, held a grand court at which he formally assured his chiefs that in return for their assurances that they would fight to their last drop of blood, he forgave them their disgraceful conduct in the

57. Firishta, I, 57.

58. Raverty, I, 466 relying upon a History of Jammu.

59. *Prithviraj Raso*.

60. Firishta, I, 57.

previous engagement. He hoped that they in the *jihad*—war for punishing the unfaithful—on which they were now bent, they would give a very good account of themselves.⁶¹

From Peshawar Shihab-ud-Din advanced to Multan. Here again he held a grand Durbar, rewarded those who had rendered faithful service here and the country round about after Shihab-ud-Din's last discomfiture at Tarawari. From Multan Shihab-ud-Din marched on to Lahore where he put his forces once again in order.⁶²

From Lahore Shihab-ud-Din sent Ruken-ud-Din as an ambassador to Prithviraj to Ajmer calling upon him to accept Islam and acknowledge Shihab-ud-Din as his sovereign and overlord.⁶³ It is doubtful whether Shihab-ud-Din hoped to gain anything from such an audacious move after his rout of previous year. As was but natural, Prithviraj returned an indignant reply chiding Shihab-ud-Din for daring to make such a foolish demand after his disgraceful defeat at Tarawari.⁶⁴ He summoned his allies to his aid. Firishta who puts his previous army at 2,00,000 tells us that Prithviraj was now able to bring under his standard as many as 3,00,000 horse and 3,000 war elephants.⁶⁵

Moving on from Ajmer the allied forces advanced North. Probably not to be outdone by Shihab-ud-Din, Prithviraj sent an ambassador to Shihab-ud-Din assuring him that if he kept himself in his own territories, Prithviraj would take no action against him. Firishta has it that Prithviraj sent his ambassadors when both the armies had reached Tarain on the banks of the Sarasvati. Shihab-ud-Din said in reply that he was in India as the agent of his elder brother Ghias-ud-Din and could do nothing on his own. He would write to his brother for further instruction proposing that he should not claim any area beyond Sirhind and be content with the territory comprised by Sirhind, Punjab and Multan⁶⁶ as held by him.

61. Firishta, I, 57-58.

62. Firishta, I, 58.

63. Taj-ul-Maasir in Elliot II, 212, 213.

64. Firishta, I, 58, Taj-ul-Maasir in Elliot, II, 215.

65. Firishta, I, 58.

66. Ibid.

When Prithvi Raj received this reply, he believed that Shihab-ud-Din had been driven to reconsider his position as the result of the Rajput display of military strength. Shihab-ud-Din's claiming to act for his elder brother seemed obvious to the Hindu host who were familiar with the joint family system. His reference to further instructions from his elder brother seemed natural to them. The Rajput army according to Firishta, this time was led by one hundred and fifty Rajas and consisted of 300,000 horse including some Afghan soliders as well. There were loud rejoicings in the Rajput camp. Though the allies did not break up camp, there was no attempt at keeping order or maintaining a state of watchfulness and preparedness in the army.

But Shihab-ud-Din had no intention of keeping his word. He had never intended to delay his march for any pretended consultations with his elder brother. Probably afraid that in a straight fight he might again be worsted, he had made the proposal to put the Rajputs off their guard. As soon as he had assured himself that the Rajputs were at rest, he moved his armies under the cover of night and fell upon them just after dawn when they had left camp for the purpose of obeying calls of nature and for performing ablutions.⁶⁷ He left his baggage, his standards, his canopy of state and elephants at his camp and even allowed his central division to remain at the base in order to beguile the Rajputs into the belief that the base camp was still occupied. *Jama-ul-Kihayai* of Nurdin written in the fourteenth century has it that he ordered every soldier to collect plenty of wood before his tent and light the fire. A party of soldiers was directed to remain in the camp and keep the fires burning all the night. The Rajputs saw the fires burning all over the camp and felt assured that the enemy was in the camp.⁶⁸

Shihab-ud-Din divided his archers into four groups of 10,000 horse, assigning them to the van, the right, the left and the centre. He kept 12,000 soldiers in reserve under his own command. This however left half his army unaccounted for. They could not all have left to guard the camp or tend the fires.

67. Firishta, I, 58. Firishta is reproducing the account as given in *Taj-ul-Maasir*. *Taj-ul-Maasir* in Elliot, II, 216.

68. *Jama-ul-Hikayat* in Elliot, II, 200.

When the Muslim army fell upon them, the Rajputs were found scattered all over the area. It took them some time to reorganize their force to be able to face the Ghorid army, but once they had got over the surprise and the shock of this breach of faith, they rallied round their leaders and started giving the invaders the worst time of their life. Shihab-ud-Din knew the morale of the army he was facing. He had given instructions to his four wings that they should feign flight so as to draw the Rajputs in a disordered line of pursuit. The battle raged fiercely into the afternoon when following the feigned flight of his four wings, Shihab-ud-Din put his reserve of 12,000 fresh horse that had stood aloof into the field. The army in feigned flight wheeled about not in disorder, but in battle array, the reserve took the Rajputs in the rear. Sandwiched between the two, the Rajputs were utterly defeated by this fresh evidence of Muslim duplicity. Govind Rai who had wounded Shihab-ud-Din in the previous battle was killed, Prithviraj was killed by Muslim soldiers who pursued the Rajputs in their flight.⁶⁹

The second battle of Taraori confirmed Ghorid ruler in the Punjab. It also extended it to a part of Haryana. The forest of Sarasvati, Hansi, Samana and Kahram were occupied soon after.⁷⁰ When Shihab-ud-Din returned from Ajmer he had to lead an expedition against Delhi but he gave it back to its ruler—the Rai—after he had formally acknowledged Ghorid sovereign authority. Qutb-ud-Din was now stationed at Kahram, some 140 miles from Delhi as Shihab-ud-Din's deputy in India.⁷¹

69. Firishta, I, 58; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 120, *Prithviraj Raso* 257 to 258 Badayuni, I, 50; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 187; *Taj-ul-Maasir* in Elliot, II, 216.

Three accounts of Prithvi Raj's death have come down to us. Prithviraj Raso's account that he died at Ghazani after killing Shihab-ud-Din need not be taken seriously. It represents a fanciful flight of the poet in an adventure in which he claims he himself played a part. Of the accounts in Persian and Arabic histories, there are three versions. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, and *Tajul Maasir* claim that he was captured and killed after his flight from the field of battle. Badayuni is content with declaring that he was captured at the battlefield.

Badayuni says that Shaikh Munid Din Chisti (whose tomb at Ajmer now draws thousands of pilgrims from all over India and Pakistan) was present in the army of Shihab-ud-Din. His presence, we are assured, inspired the victory.

70. Firishta, I, 58; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 120.

71. Firishta, I, 58; *Taj-ul-Maasir* in Elliot, II, 217.

On his return journey to Ghazni, Shihab-ud-Din is said to have marched through the Shivalak hills and ravaged the country.⁷² The local tradition of these areas does not record any conflict with the Muhammadans about this time except in Rajauri (Jammu). Sahab Sing at Kalanour, is said to have been defeated by Shihab-ud-Din Ghorî and compelled to embrace Islam.⁷³ So far as the conversion of the Raja of Rajauri to Islam is concerned, we find Jahangir assigning this to Firuz Shah's reign.⁷⁴ This is much more likely as we find several generations of Hindu rajas of Rajauri ruling the state after this date.⁷⁵ A cadet of the house of Rajauri ruling at Kalanaur might have been defeated and converted. This lack of absence of local tradition and the vague statement of Muslim chronicler that he ravaged the Shivalak hills on his return journey negatives any chance of his coming into conflict with the rulers of the Hill states. All that Shihab-ud-Din might have accomplished seems to be a march from Rupar to Bajwara at the foot of the hills.

But Ghorid rule sat lightly even in the Hariâna areas now claimed by them. Hansi was attacked and captured in 1194 Qutub-ud-Din hastened to the place in 1195 to quell disturbances whereas the rebellion of 1197 was a very serious affair. Led by Raja Jatwan, the people rose in a rebellion which taxed Qutb-ud-Din's resources to their utmost. The timely arrival of Shihab-ud-Din at Hansi alone saved the Ghorids and they were finally able to establish their authority here.⁷⁶

Delhi itself did not keep quiet for long. Jasrai of Delhi seems to have renounced his allegiance to the Ghorids. The Rai who had fled from Delhi had raised an army, of idolatrous, turbulent, and rebellious tribes. Qutb-ud-Din pursued him and 'when the wretch was taken, his head was severed' from his body and sent to Delhi which had been his residence and capital.⁷⁷ Obviously

72. Firishta, I, 58; *Tabaqat-i-Nasari*, 120.

73. Vogel and Hutchinson.

74. *Tuzak*, 322.

75. Vogel and Hutchinson, 681.

76. Firishta, I, 61, 62; *Tabaqat*, I, 39; Badayuni, I, 60; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 187; *Taj-ul-Maasir* in Elliot, II, 217, 218.

77. *Taj-ul-Maasir*, Elliot, II, 219-20.

Delhi had not yet been occupied by the Ghorids, when Qutb-ud-Din returned from Ghazni in 592 (1196); Delhi seems to have become the capital of the Ghorid's dominions in India in 593 A.H. (1197). When Shihab-ud-Din returned from his successful campaign in Gujarat, the plunder of Gujarat was distributed among the inhabitants (or Muslim residents) of Delhi.⁷⁸

Though Haryana was thus finally pacified by about the end of 1197, Punjab, the land of the five rivers, had been seething with discontent. Between the Ravi and the Indus lay the country of the Khakhars. They were turbulent people. Shihab-ud-Din had occupied Lahore. But the Khakhars had been busy cutting off direct communications to Lahore and Peshwar. They were strange people, whenever a daughter was born, the father would marry her forthwith and if the child was unlucky not to find a husband she was killed at birth. They practised polygamy. Whenever they found a Muslim, they would make it a point to capture him and torture him. They had made it impossible for the Muslim rulers of Lahore to exert any authority in this area. The Ghazanvids do not seem to have been able to establish their authority successfully here. It is possible that the foothills of the Shivalak and the upper part of the Punjab plains had never been really subdued. Under their chief Suka, they raised their head between the river Jhelum and the Ravi, threatened Lahore and tried to challenge the Muslim ruler everywhere in this area. But the rising was not an entire success. One of the Khakhar chiefs was converted to Islam, many of the smaller chiefs followed suit. The convert was honoured by being nominated Shihab-ud-Din's Governor of the area. This seems to have benefited the Ghorids but little and that too for a short time. Soon after the news of Ghias-ud-Din's death in 1204 gave them an excuse for raising their head again. Towards the end of the year 1205 they rose in revolt and proceeded almost as far as Lahore. Qutb-ud-Din was not slow to answer this serious challenge to Ghorid authority. He marched up to meet them. Among the Muslim chiefs who accompanied him in this campaign was his intrepid general Shams-ud-Din Iltumish. Their combined forces found it rather a difficult task to subdue the rising when luckily for them Shihab-ud-

78. Firishta, I, 57, 63; Taj-ul-Maasir, in Elliot, II, 219, 220.

Din came hastening back to the Punjab. His presence saved the situation and the Khakhars were defeated.⁷⁹

But Shihab-ud-Din was not yet rid of them. When he was returning home, a Khakhar attacked him at Damyak on the Jhelum. He was stabbed to death on 8 March, 1206.⁸⁰ With his death the rule of the Ghorids came to an end in the Punjab. His viceroy at Delhi, Qutb-ud-Din Aibak was able to found a new dynasty which under him gave primacy to the Punjab by making Lahore its capital.

When Shihab-ud-Din died the Ghorids held the lower plains of the Punjab including Multan. Between the Ravi and the Indus the Khakhars formed a turbulent section of the people, ever ready to rise and always willing to fight as stubbornly as they could. They seem to have occupied the upper plains of the Punjab. The Punjab Hill states continued to maintain their independence though a Muslim convert at Kalanaur might have provided a footing for further advance in that area. The Hariyana—the country between the Satluj and the Jamuna—had been subdued after a stubborn resistance and Delhi had risen to be the capital of the occupied Punjab, Hariyana, Multan and parts of Ajmer. The Ghorid ruler had been able to advance eastwards as well and had established their authority in the Doab, Bihar and parts of Bengal.

79. Firishta, I, 59-60; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 188; Badayuni, I, 52; *Tabaqat*, I, 41, *Tabaqat-i-Nasari*, 123, 124; *Taj-ul-Maasir* in Elliot, II, 233, 234.

80. Firishta, I, 80, *Tabaqat*, I, 41, Badayuni, I, 52; *Tabaqat-i-Nasari*, 214, *Tajul-Maasir*, Badayuni, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, and Firishta all agree that he was killed by the Khakhar rebels. Firishta says that twenty Khakhars whose relatives had been killed in the Sultan's expeditions against them conspired together. He gives a detailed account of the way the conspiracy was carried through and also described the punitive action taken against Khakhars for this outrage.

Tabaqat-i-Nasari however alleges that he was killed by a member of the heretic Mulahadja sect whose territories Shihab-ud-Din had overrun some three years earlier. Badayuni however adds in his account of the learned men of Shihab-ud-Din's reign that Imam Kakhrud-Din Razi was excused of being privy to the Mulahidan Conspiracy to murder the Sultan and had to seek safety with a Vizir of the Sultan. Here he follows *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din seems to have rejected this story and other authors have followed his account. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya.

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But the Punjab — Multan, Punjab, Hariyana of the medieval writers — formed the backbone of their authority. They were primarily masters of this area with their outer limits extending to Lakhnauti, the capital of Bengal. So well did they realize this fact, that Qutb-ud-Din Aibak preferred to rule his kingdom from Lahore rather than from Delhi.

As far as the Punjab was concerned the Ghorids had succeeded the Ghazanvids at Multan and Lahore and extended their power in what would then have been Hindu areas of Hariyana — Hansi, Sirhind, and Delhi. Their hold was everywhere shaky and liable to challenge, even when such challenges were not successful.

But the decline of the Ghazanvid's power at Lahore need not necessarily have been followed by any other Muslim power from the North-West. The Hindu rulers of the Punjab Hill states, the Khakhars of the Punjab plains, the independent Hindu rulers beyond the Satluj could have, together or singly, taken advantage of the weakness of the Yaminis of Lahore. They did not do so; this opened the way to the Ghorid attempts, first at supplanting Yaminis in Lahore and then extending their power further east. The continuation of the foreign ruler in the Punjab was not treated as a challenge to their own authority by those who were still independent and hence the opportunity to dislodge the weak Ghazanvids from Lahore was lost.

But Prithvi Raj of Delhi and Ajmer did rightly read the signs of the time when the Ghorids took Sirhind. He accepted the challenge and his first response to it at the battle of Taraori was eminently successful. His defeat and discomfiture at the second battle of Taraori displayed neither lack of organization, nor weak generalship. Even though northern India beyond the Satluj was split up into several principalities Prithvi Raj was able to bring into the field a large allied army now as before. It was their failure in diplomacy and in detecting duplicity in others that proved the undoing of the allies. The false truce into which Shihab-ud-Din's agent lulled them betokened failure of military intelligence services. For a foreign enemy to advance into their country under the cover of darkness and take them unawares indicated a lack of awareness of the foreign danger among the populace at large. Not that defending the country was a task for the Rajputs alone. Other sections of the community were not

lacking either in valour or in a determination to keep the 'Mlechhas' away; witness the rising of the Khakhars.

Several accounts of the battle suggest that Prithvi Raj's self-indulgence had led to wide discontent in higher army circles.⁸¹ As said earlier there is no reason to believe that this led to their issuing an invitation to Shihab-ud-Din. But it may have played a major part in the lack of watchfulness in the camp when the enemy lay facing his soldiers. It may have played some part in his willingness to take literally the answer his messenger brought back from Shihab-ud-Din.

On the battle field again it is difficult to discover either lack of valour or of the fighting spirit among the soldiers and their leaders. But battle seems to have been still considered a call to divine intervention in awarding victory to the side that fought 'best' displaying the largest amount of individual valour in fighting in the traditional style. History has repeatedly demonstrated that of all classes those who fight are the most conservative. Though the Muslim arms had been maintaining territory in the Punjab for almost two centuries now, the Rajputs do not seem to have taken notice of the Muslim way of fighting. A battle cannot be fought without assigning proper places to various components that form the fighting strength. But place in battle among the Rajputs seems to have been a matter of precedence—depending very often upon memories of past services rather than on the need to 'contain' the enemy or to meet him with greater strength. That Prithvi Raj was able to rally his forces so speedily and so well after the surprise attack by the Ghorids seems to indicate at least a potential sense of discipline that should have displayed itself otherwise as well. The Ghorid army was better led in that it was used to a greater extent and more successfully as an instrument of gaining advantage on the battlefield and matching victory from the enemy's hands. This flight of Prithvi Raj—and that in his own territory—led to his capture and death whereas a wounded Shihab-ud-Din was spirited away from the battlefield.

81. *Hamira Mahakavya* 17, suggests that Prithviraj's Superintendent of the stables gave him a horse to ride which could not stand a particular strain of music and had it played in the thick of battle.

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It is this lack of learning the new military tactics and strategy that led to the defeat of the Rajputs rather than a division of the country into so many principalities. Notwithstanding this division Prithvi Raj did defeat Shihab-ud-Din in the first battle of Taraori. A central power in India would not necessarily meet the enemy much further North than at Taraori. Even an Al-ud-Din met the invading Mughal best under the very walls of Delhi. It is doubtful if a larger army than 300,000 horse and 3000 elephants which Prithvi Raj led to battle could have been put into the field by any emperor of India. Of course the Muslim chroniclers might have exaggerated the strength of the Indian army. But when all allowance has been made it would have to be conceded that a much larger army could not have been brought into the field under different circumstances.

It is silly to place the blame on the quarrels between Rajput chiefs. The alleged 'treachery' of Jai Chand is a fiction which some of us have been using as an argument in order not to explore or acknowledge more vital causes of the Rajput defeat. As elsewhere in the contemporary world, but much less so, a national consciousness was yet to arise. Popular identification with the rulers was a thing of the future even in a politically conscious England; witnessed the barons inviting in 1216 a son of the King of France to rule over them rather than tolerate a John.

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The Mamluk Dynasty — 1206-1290

A POLITICAL SURVEY

BY

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When the death of Muhammad Ghori became known, the nobles of Lahore sent an invitation to Qutab-ud-dīn Aibak to assume sovereign power. Aibak at once proceeded from Delhi to Lahore and crowned himself as king, though his formal accession had already taken place on 17th March, 1206.¹

There were many slaves and lieutenants of Muhammad Ghori who were ambitious and held high posts. This threatened the Turkish empire in India with dissolution. Nāsir-ud-din-Qabāchā, the governor of Multan and Sindh had been gaining more prominence since 1205 A.D. Aibak offered one of his daughters in marriage to him and he agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty.

Tāj-ud-din Yildiz claimed the succession to Muhammad Ghori, as he held Kirmān and Sanqrān on the route from Afghānistān to upper Sindh, and was widely believed to have been marked out for the viceroyalty of Ghazni. At the head of a large army Tāj-ud-din marched from Ghazni to Lāhore, in 1206,² and took possession of the city. He sent his army against Qabāchā, and drove him away. On hearing this, Aibak advanced from Delhi to recover the Panjāb. Yildiz was defeated and driven away to Kirmān and since then Aibak fixed up his residence at Lāhore and made it the capital of his Indian empire.³

1. *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri* — Vol. I, Raverty, p. 526.
Tarikh-i-Fakhru-ud-din Mubārak Shah, p. 31.
Sirhindi, gives "June 26, 1206 A.D."
2. *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā* — Vol. I, Text, p. 63.
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, pp. 130-140.
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Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 135.
Fatuh-us-Salātin — Mahdi Hassan, p. 99.

During his sovereignty, Aibak did not make any fresh conquest. He also could not find enough time to establish a sound administration, which was purely military and rested on the support of the army. He left the administration of this province in the hands of the native officers with old revenue rules and regulations in tact.⁴ In the towns, Muslim officers were placed in charge of administration who were always mostly soldiers. The provincial judiciary was under a *quāzi*, but the administration of justice was yet ill organized.⁵ Qutab-ud-din died at Lāhore, early in November, 1210 A.D.⁶ of injuries received as a result of a fall from his own horse which fell upon him while he was playing *Charugān*. The high pannal of the saddle had pierced his breast. He died instantly and was buried at Lāhore on November 4, 1210.⁷

On the sudden death of Aibak at Lāhore, the *Amirs* and *Maliks* of the Panjāb set up his son Arām Bakhash⁸ as his successor with the title of Arām Shāh (1210-1211) for the sake of restraining tumult. But the *Amirs* of Delhi refused to support Arām Shāh, and invited Altutmish, the governor of Badaun to assume the crown. Backed by the Lāhore faction, Arām Shāh marched against Delhi but Altutmish found it easy to defeat and slay him.⁹

Though Altutmish ascended the throne in 1211 A.D. his position was very precarious. The Panjāb was hostile to him. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā was the ruler of the provinces of Sindh and Multan¹⁰ and he had further extended his kingdom to include, Bhatindā, Ghurhām (16 miles to the south of Patiala, Dr. C. C. Davies wrongly spelt it as Kukrām) and Sarusti. The chiefs of Rajasthān withheld tribute and repudiated allegiance. Ali Mardān,

4. *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri* — Minhaj-Us-Siraj, Text, p. 136.
5. *Tarikh-i-Firishtā* — Vol. I, Text, p. 63.
6. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* — I. H. Quraishi, p. 4.
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9. *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri* — Minhāj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 141.
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11. *Tabqat-i-Akbari* — Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, p. 55.
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15. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* — Sirhindi-Basu, pp. 16-17.
- 16.

the governor of Lakhanuti in, Bengāl also declared his independence.¹¹

Altutmish's position was immediately imperilled when Tāj-ud-din Yildiz, the ruler of Ghazni asserted his claims to the sovereignty of entire Hindustān. He turned out the governor of Lāhore appointed by Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā and occupied it.¹² Altutmish protested against this act of aggression. When the protest was disregarded by Yildiz, Altutmish marched towards Lāhore. Both the armies met at the historic battle field of Tarain¹³ (also called Tarāwari) on January 25, 1216 A.D. Yildiz was defeated and taken prisoner and after being led through the streets of Delhi was sent to Badāun, where he was put to death in the same year. This victory of Altutmish over Yildiz was the removal of the last obstacle to Altutmish's power.¹⁴

A constant state of warfare was going on between Altutmish and Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā for the possession of the provinces of Lāhore, Bhatindā, Sarusti and Ghurham.¹⁵ His anxiety was not to give an occasion to Alā-ud-din Muhammad, the Khawārizm Shāh, to claim Hindustān as a dependency of Ghazni, since Yildiz was driven out of Ghazni. Altutmish was always under the fear that the occupation of the Panjāb was most necessary for the safety of the Sultanate of Delhi and therefore, he marched against Qabāchā in the month of September, 1216. As the Sultān's forces crossed the Beās, Qabāchā fled to the fortress at the village of Chambā.¹⁶ Altutmish pursued, but Qabāchā further

11. Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, pp. 143, 170.
- Tarikh-i-Firishta — Vol. I, Text, pp. 64-65.
12. Taj-ul-Maasir — Hasan Nizami, pp. 215-216.
- Taj-ul-Maasir — Hasan Nizami, Text, Vol. II, E & D, p. 239.
13. Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Vol. I, Raverty, p. 608.
- Firishta gives Narain which is a mistake of one point of to two points i.e., and
14. Taj-ul-Maasir — Hasan Nizami, Text, Vol. II, E & D, p. 239.
- Tarikh-i-Firishta — Vol. I, Text, p. 65.
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16. Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 170.
- Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi — Sirhindi Basu, p. 17.
- A village situated on the bank of the river Beas, Mohd. Aziz Ahmed is incorrect, who locates this village as Chamba in Himachal Pradesh, vide p. 165.

fled towards Uch.¹⁷ In the year 1217, the rival forces encountered each other in the vicinity of Mansura¹⁸ and Qabāchā suffered a crushing defeat.¹⁹ The captives who were taken in battle were pardoned. This success did not give Altutmish a complete possession of the Panjāb, as the Chenab and the Jhelum valleys were still in the possession of the Gakhars, the true freedom fighters of this province, who valiantly resisted the foreign rule for centuries together. For the administration of this province, Prince Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd, an experienced general of the army, was appointed as the governor of the Panjāb in 1217.²⁰

The Panjāb had not yet heaved a sigh of relief when all of a sudden another danger fell upon her soil and her peace was again disturbed. It happened in 1221, when Changez Khān rolled up the whole Khawārizm empire from Ghazni. The Mughals under their leader, the terrible Changez Khān drove Alā-ud-din Muhammad Khawārizm Shāh from his throne, who was obliged to find shelter in the Caspian coast. Shah's crown prince, Jalāl-ud-din Mangbarni²¹ pursued relentlessly across Khurāsān, could elude him only by crossing over into the Panjāb, and thus Altutmish's efforts to gain the Panjāb were once more undone. Mangbarni established himself in the Upper-Sindh Sāgar Doāb and contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Gakhar chief. This was a very diplomatic deal of Jalāl-ud-din because the Gakhars were hostile to Nāsir-ud-din and consequently Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā was practically driven out of the Sindh Sāgar Doāb.²²

Jalāl-ud-din Mangbarni's three years' sojourn in the western Panjāb also affected Altutmish's hold on the Rāvi and Chenāb

17. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* — Vol. I, Raverty, p. 609.
Tabqat-i-Akbari — Vol. I, pp. 58-59.
18. Situated by the side of the river Chenab on the frontier tract of Lahore. (One of the cities of Swistan, says Minhaj-us-Siraj, E & D, Vol. II, p. 303).
19. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* — Sirhindi-Basu, p. 17.
Taj-ul-Maasir — Hasan Nizami, E & D, Vol. II, p. 241.
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Taj-ul-Maasir — Hasan Nizami, p. 249.
Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha-i-Juwaini — Vol. II, p. 145.

regions. Mangbarni captured²³ the fort of Pasrūr, District Siālkot and tried to support himself by plundering the riverine tracts. He managed even to reach Lahore whence he sent an envoy to Altutmish to beg for an asylum in his dominions.²⁴

Altutmish was shrewd enough to anticipate the deep-rooted danger of providing him shelter. To reverse Qutab-ud-din and his own foreign policy at this stage and to seek the displeasure of far more terrible power by receiving the fugitive prince, would have been very unwise. Therefore, Altutmish politely declined under the pretext that the climate of Lāhore was likely to be prejudicial to Mangbarni's health. But at this refusal, Mangbarni prepared to avenge himself by further aggressions in the Panjāb. Altutmish got ready for military action. Jalāl-ud-din did not like to fight and he thought it prudent to turn his attention to Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā, considering him weaker than Altutmish and being aware of the fact that Qabāchā's relations with the Gakhars were not cordial.²⁵

After having allied himself with the Gakhars, Jalāl-ud-din Mangbarni defeated and compelled Qabāchā to take refuge in the fort of Multān. After fighting some skirmishes with Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā, Jalāl-ud-din reached Kirmān by way of Makrān, as he got the news that the tide was turning in his favour in Khurāsān, in 1224.²⁶

The net result of Mangbarni's stay in the Panjāb was the extinction of Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā's power. Sindh Sāgar Doāb and a part of Multān passed into the hands of Jalāl-ud-din. Even after his departure the western Panjab continued to witness rapid political changes. They upset Altutmish's plan of consolidation on

23. *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha-i-Juwaini* — Vol. II, p. 145.

Cunningham's Reports, XIV, pp. 46-47.

24. "He sent a messenger to Altutmish with the request that if out of friendship he could condescend to help him, he would win back his ancestral kingdom from the enemy."
(Early Turkish Empire of Delhi — Mohd. Aziz Ahmed, p. 166).

25. *Tabqat-i-Akbari* — Vol. I, p. 59.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi — Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 18.

26. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Badauni*, p. 64.

Tabqat-i-Akbari — Vol. I, p. 59.

Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 163.

the west but they also helped him to destroy his rival Qabāchā, for the latter had to bear the brunt of Mangbarni's invasion and of its aftermath, which very much weakened his power of resistance. A governor was appointed over Bhatindā, some time before 1227, who also encroached upon Qabāchā's territory and occupied Wanjrat or Vajnot in the province of Multān.²⁷

At the death of Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, Multan and Uch were annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi and governors were appointed to these provinces. But it seems that Altutmish could not make any immediate head way in the Upper Sindh-Sāgar Doāb. Besides the area dominated by the unsubdued tribes (The Gakhars) of the Salt Range, a part of Mangbarni's Panjāb's possessions, was now under his lieutenant Saif-ud-din Hasan Qarlugh, who was to hold it for his master as best as he could. Judging from Jalāl-ud-din's alliance with the Gakhars,²⁸ Qarlugh's influence was fairly extensive. However, in the northern Panjāb, Altutmish appears to have succeeded in extending his rule upto Siālkot and Janer (Hajner) and possibly also Jallandhar.²⁹

Altutmish constituted the newly conquered territories to the north-west of Delhi into three provinces viz: the provinces of Lāhore, Multān and Sindh. The governors of these provinces were instructed to include the whole of the Panjāb. As a result of these instructions, the governors of Lāhore and Multān succeeded in occupying the forts of Nandanā, the capital of the Gakhar tribe and Kujāh which were put under the charge of Aitigin.³⁰ The establishment of these out-posts and the preceding wars secured for Altutmish central, north-eastern and western Panjāb.

The Sultān died on 29th April, 1236, after a reign of twenty-six years, and the throne passed to his eldest son Ferōze imme-

27. *Tarikh-i-Nasiri* — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 232.
Indian Antiquary — (Bombay), 1882, pp. 1-9.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi — Sirhindi-Basu, pp. 18-19.

28. A tribe of the Salt Range who always fought against the foreigners

29. Taj-ul-Maasir — Hasan Nizami, E & D, Vol. II, p. 242.

Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 173.

Tarikh-i-Firishta — Vol. I, Text, pp. 65-66.

30. Tabqat-i-Maasir — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, pp. 179, 253, 176.

Tarikh-i-Yamini — Abu Nasar Utibi, 1847, p. 260.

diately.³¹ Ferōze, entitled Rukn-ud-din, was weak and licentious and was given to life of debauchery. All real power of the state passed into the hands of his mother Turkān. The nobles of the court who could no longer put up with Queen Turkān decided to offer the crown to Razia,³² daughter of Altutmish.

At that time Malik Alā-ud-din, the governor of Lāhore, Malik Izz-ud-din Kabir Khān-i-Ayāz, the governor of Multān and Malik Safi-ud-din Kooji, the governor of Hānsi, with the governors of some more sub-provinces conspired together and broke into rebellion. With a view to suppressing the rebels, Sultān Rukn-ud-din marched out of the capital with a large army; but his Vizir Nizām-ul-Malik Muhammad, being frightened by the combined strength of the rebels, deserted the Sultān, and allied themselves with other conspirators. A coalition of the chiefs was formed at Lāhore in 1236,³³ to depose the Sultān. Considering the importance of the revolt thus formed in the Panjāb, the Sultān led his forces towards Ghurhāā. All these combined forces of the governors,³⁴ now arrived at Mansūrpur.³⁵ Ferōze marched out of Ghurhām to oppose them but his army officers deserted him on the way. Queen Turkān was imprisoned and done to death. The Turkish *Amirs* and other contingents of the royal body guards all joined Raziā, and placed her on the throne.³⁶

Raziā induced Izz-ud-din, the governor of Multān to visit her for the betrayal of some of their associates, and then circulated in the rebel camp an account of all that had passed at the conference. Consternation fell upon all and as such no man could trust his neighbour. Saif-ud-din Kooji, governor of Hansi, Ala-ud-din Sher

31. Tabqat-i-Akbari— Khawaja Nizam-ud-din, Text, p. 64.

Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Vol. I, Raverty, p. 30.

32. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi — Sirhindi-Basu, p. 21.

33. Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 183.

34. Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Minhaj-us-Siraj, p. 184.

Fatuh-ut-Salatin — Mahdi-Hassan, p. 126.

35. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi — Sirhindi-Basu, p. 22.

Mansurpur is now called Chhintanwala, a very old village on the Rajpura, Bhatinda Railway line, twenty-four miles to the west of Patiala.

36. Ibn-Battuta's Travels, E & D, Vol. II, p. 592.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi — Sirhindi-Basu, p. 22.

Tabqat-i-Nasiri — Vol. I, Raverty, pp. 632-633.

Khani, governor of Lāhore and Wazir Nizām-ud-din Malik Junaidi had united their forces at Lāhore. They advanced to Delhi to dethrone Raziā. Meanwhile she was busily engaged in sowing dissension among the rebel chiefs, and with such success, that, distrusting each other they shortly after broke up their camp, each retreating to his own province, but they were all hotly pursued by Raziā's cavalry. Alā-ud-din Sher Khāni was overtaken and slain at Nagwān near Pael,³⁷ (near Chava-Pael railway station in Ludhiana District). Saij-ud-din Kooji and his brothers were taken alive and put to death, after short imprisonment. Nizām-ud-din Muluk Muhammad Junaidi fled into Sirmur hills, where he died. Kabir Khān, the governor of Multān who was the first man to desert his associates was rewarded with the governorship of Lāhore and Multān.³⁸

Raziā's triumph brought her great prestige which stabilised her position but later this very success proved to be the chief cause of her downfall. The Turkish nobles, who had formed themselves into a military brotherhood and monopolized all power in the state since the time of Qutab-ud-din Aibak, would not tolerate a very powerful and despotic monarch who was pursuing a policy of making her supreme, which led to a conspiracy against Raziā.³⁹ The leader of this conspiracy, to depose Raziā, was Ikhtiār-ud-din Aitigin, lord chamberlain and the other prominent man among the conspirators was Kabir Khān, the governor of Lāhore and Multān provinces. He was the first *Amir* to revolt. But Kabir Khān's progress was checked by the Mughal invasion on account of which he halted at the Chenāb. Meanwhile Raziā's forces came up and Kabir Khān had to surrender unconditionally.⁴⁰

A second rebellion was reported when Ikhtiār-ud-Altuniā, the governor of Bhatindā had rebelled, at the instigation of Aitigin and other nobles. When the army, under the command of Altuniā

37. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* — Minhaj-us-Siraj, p. 187 (Pael is now a police station in Ludhiana District).
38. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* — Minhaj-us-Siraj, pp. 185-186.
Notes on Afghanistan — H. G. Raverty (1888), pp. 650-641.
Tarikh-i-Firishta — Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 218-219.
39. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* — Minhaj-us-Siraj, p. 188.
Tarikh-i-Firishta — Vol. I, Text, p. 68.
Fatuh-us-Salatin — Mehdi-Hassan, pp. 128-129.
40. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* — Minhaj-us-Siraj, pp. 188-191.

reached Bhatindā, Yākut, the paramour of Raziā was murdered and Raziā was put into the custody of Altuniā,⁴¹ the governor of Bhatindā. Bahrām was proclaimed the Sultān of Delhi on April 22, 1239.⁴²

Altuniā, the governor of Bhatindā, married Raziā soon after, and raised an army especially from the Gakhar-Jāts and marched on Delhi to recapture the throne. They were soon joined by Malik Izz-ud-din Muhammad Salari and Malik Qārāqash. In the meantime Bahrām Shāh was elevated to the throne who led his army in the month of September, 1240, to check the progress of his opponents. A stubborn battle was fought in which Razia was defeated and fled to Bhatindā. Raziā did not lose her courage and recollected her scattered troops and made a second effort to achieve the throne, but she was again defeated on the plains of Kaithal.⁴³ on October 24, 1239. Later Raziā and Altuniā were murdered by some Hindu robbers on December 13, 1240.⁴⁴

While the peace of the province was disturbed by internal discords and dissensions, the Mughal army beseiged the city of Lāhore under the command of Tāyir. Malik Akhtiyār-ud-din Qārāqash, the governors of Lahore offered resistance; but as he was not supported by the people he left Lāhore at mid-night and started for Delhi.⁴⁵ The Mughals pursued him, but he managed to escape safely to Delhi. However, Aqsanqar, the Kotwāl of Lahore and Muhammad, the Lord of the stable, continued fighting with the invaders. Unluckily the Kotwāl was killed in this battle and the Mughal leader Tāyir was also killed. Lahore was occupied by the Mughals on December 22, 1241, who sacked the city and captured a large number of people.⁴⁶ Sirhindi writes that "The infidel Mughals obtained possession of the city, martyred the Musalmāns, and made captive their dependents."⁴⁷

41. Ibid., pp. 188-189.

42. Ibid., pp. 188-191.

43. Tarikh-i-Firishta — Vol. I, Text, p. 69.

Cambridge History of India — Vol. III, p. 60.

44. Tabqat-i-Nasiri—Minhaj-us-Siraj, *p. 188.

45. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi — Sirhindi-Basu, p. 28.

46. Tarikh-i-Firishta—Vol. I, Text, p. 69.

47. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi—Sirhindi-Basu, p. 29.

The Sultān then, nominated Malik Qutab-ud-din, son of Hussain Ali Ghuri, and the Vazir Nizām-ul-Mulk at the head of the royal force against the Mughals. But the Turkish nobles had lost all confidence in the Sultān and when the army reached the river Beās, instead of advancing on Lāhore, they planned out intrigues against the Sultān. Meanwhile the Mughals had further advanced upto the bank of the river Beās, but later they retired from the Panjāb.⁴⁸ Meanwhile a plot having been formed against Bahrām Shāh, he was deposed, imprisoned and put to death in 1241.⁴⁹

Internal jealousy and disorder did not disappear and the country was torn by dissensions and revolutions.⁵⁰ The governors of Multān and Uch had declared their independence. In 1245, Multān was occupied by Saif-ud-din Hasan Qarlugh. A conspiracy was formed and Māsand Shāh was deposed and Nāsir-ud-din Muhammad was crowned as Sultān in June, 1246.

Balban was the leader of the Forty,⁵¹ who raised Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud to the throne and thus the Sultān invested all the powers in the hands of Balban. Consequently all the key posts of the state went to Balban's relatives.

Balban's cousin, Sher Khan, was awarded the title of Muazam Khān. He was one of the most renowned men of his age. Possessing all princely qualities, he was an experienced soldier and a talented counsellor at the court. He was entrusted with the governorship of the provinces of Multān, Ghurhām, Sunām, Shivālik hills and Sirhind in addition to the governorship of Lāhore and Bhatindā provinces.⁵²

Balban's ascendancy to power led to the rise of a party against him and Imād-ud-din Rayhān, a Hindu convert, was the ring

48. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* — Minhaj-us-Siraj, pp. 195-196.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi — Sirhindi-Basu, pp. 28-29.

Tarikh-i-Firishta — Vol. I, Text, pp. 69-70.

49. *Tārikh-i-Firishtā* — Vol. I, Text, p. 70.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shahi — Sirhindi-Basu, p. 30.

50. *Early Turkish Empire* — Vol. I, p. 70.

51. It was the Turkish aristocracy at the head of which stood a selected body of forty nobles known as the 'forty'. It had come into existence in the time of Altutmish. All the members of this body were originally Altutmish's slaves.

52. *Tārikh-i-Firishtā* — Vol. I, Text, p. 71.

leader of the dissidents. Nāsir-ud-din issued orders of the dismissal of Balban from the rank of the Prime-Minister and appointed Imād-ud-din Rayhān in his place. A fresh distribution of offices now took place. Sher Khān was replaced by Arslan Khān⁵³ as the governor of the provinces which were in the charge of Sher Khān. While the Sultān had camped at the Beās, near Sultanpur, during the expedition against the Mughals, Sher Khān had retired to Turkistan.⁵⁴

Imād-ud-din Rayhān's administration, though popular with the lower classes, could not last long. The Turkish nobles at the court and in the provinces would not tolerate an Indian Muslim who was the defacto head of the government. They once again combined under the leadership of Balban. A contest between the two armies was imminent but the Sultan did not see it appropriate to risk the battle and he agreed to dismiss Rayhān's ministry. Balban again appointed his cousin Sher Khān, as the governor of the provinces of Lāhore, Dipālpur, Multān, Bhātner, Sunām, Ghurhām, and Shivalik Hills in 1254.⁵⁵ He remained the governor till 1267.

At his accession to the throne, Balban dislodged all the influential members from the key posts of the State. His cousin Sher Khān, whom he had appointed as the governor was given poison,⁵⁶ because he had grown a powerful governor of the frontier province of the Delhi Sultanate, who could challenge the authority of Balban at any time. Sher Khān was an energetic governor who administered the Panjab even beyond Satluj and boldly and ably repulsed the incursions of the Mughals. He was buried at Bhatner (Hānumāngarh) in the extensive mausoleum which he had himself constructed for the purpose. In his place, Balban appointed his eldest son prince Muhammad Sultan surnamed Taj-ul-Malik. He was a youth of great talents with a fine taste for literature, being himself a polished and profound scholar of Persian and Arabic languages. The provinces of Multān, Dipalpur, Ghurham, Sunam and Samana also were put under his charge,⁵⁷ in addition to the governorship of Lāhore. On establishing him-

53. *Tābqāt-i-Nāsiri* — Minhāj-us-Siraj, pp. 271-272, 218, 266.

54. *Tārikh-i-Firishṭā* — Vol. I, Text, p. 72.

55. *Tārikh-i-Firishṭā* — Vol. I, Text, p. 72.

56. *Tārikh-i-Firōze Shāhi* — Zīā-ud-din Barani, pp. 26-28.

57. *Tārikh-i-Firishṭā* — Vol. I, Text, pp. 73-74.

self at Lahore he brought with him all learned men who were associated with him in Delhi. Amīr Khusraū, the poet laureate and Khawājā Hasan were also among the train that accompanied the prince. The Sultān provided him with all the requisites of war and a body of experienced counsellors.⁵⁸

The Mughals plundered the upper Panjāb and Delhi. Balban took firm measures to guard the north-west frontier. He established big cantonments at Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Samānā, Sunām, Ghurhām, Jallandhar, Sirhind and strong military cantonments were kept under experienced military generals like Bughra Khān (Nāsir-ud-din) at Samānā, Malik Bakhtar in Delhi, to reinforce them. These generals used to march to reinforce Nāsir-ud-din at Sultānpur, on the Beās. In this manner they obtained several victories with the result that the Mughals never dared approach the Beās any more.⁵⁹

The defence measures were further increased when the province of the Panjāb was converted into military zones, being placed under the military commanders of proved ability. The military command of Samānā was detailed to guard the Beās line, and this command was to work under the over-all command of the governor of Multān and Lāhore, whose seat of governorship was then at Multān. This co-ordination proved most effective and the Mughals were held back.⁶⁰

Balban was told that the military grantees of land were unfit for military service, which they had never rendered for several years. Many of such grantees had died, while many of them were very old and infirm. Some were dead and their sons had taken the possession of the grants as an inheritance from their forefathers. Some who had no children had sent their slaves as their representatives. With the exception of a few, all of them stayed at home, the acceptance of which they had secured by presents and bribes to the deputy muster-master and his officials.

58. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* — Barani-Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 40.

Tārikh-i-Firishtā — I, Text, p. 75.

59. *Tārikh-i-Ferōze Shāhi*-Ziā-ud-din, Barani, p. 80.

60. *Tārikh-i-Firishtā* — Vol. I, Text, p. 80.

The Cambridge History of India — Vol. III, p. 79.

Balban took immediate measure to confiscate many such 'jagirs', whereas the remaining grantees were divided into three classes. The first consisted of the old and worn out, upon whom he settled pensions of forty or fifty tankas and resumed their villages. The second class grantees were those who were young they were given an allowance proportionate to the service. Their villages were not to be taken from them but the surplus revenues were to be collected by the government revenue officers. The third class consisted of children and orphans, who held villages and sent deputies to perform their military service. The grants were withdrawn from the orphans and the widows, but a suitable allowance was made for their food and raiment.⁶¹

The repeated incursions of the Mughals had much affected the economic prosperity of the Panjāb. Tamar Khān, the Mughal wanted to expand his sway towards the interior Panjāb. Tamar Khān, invaded the province of Lāhore at the head of twenty thousand strong horse in 1285.⁶² He entered the Sindh-Sāgar Doāb. The whole country around Dipālpur and Lahore was plundered and the villages were depopulated. The Afghāns were mercilessly butchered. Prince Muhammad, the governor of the provinces of Lahore, Bhatindā and Multān was then at Multān, who having heard about these depredations hastened to Lāhore and prepared for a vigorous fight.

Tamar Khān had advanced upto the Rāvi when Prince Muhammad was preparing to give battle. The two armies being drawn up in order of battle on the bank of the river Rāvi, engaged each other in an action in which both commanders greatly distinguished themselves. At length the Mughals were defeated and hotly pursued by Prince Muhammad. Unfortunately, he was separated from the main body of his troops. During this pursuit when Muhammad was halting on the bank of a stream, three 'Farsangs' from Multān,⁶³ a Mughal chief who had

61. *Tārīkh-i-Ferōze Shāhi*-Barani — E & D, Vol. III, pp. 107-108.

62. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārāk Shāhi*-Minhāj-u-Sirāj, pp. 42-43.

Foundation of Muslim Rule in India — Habibullā, pp. 222-223.

63. *Tārīkh-i-Ferōze Shāhi* — Barani, E & D, p. 109.

Tārīkh-i-Firishtā — Vol. I, Text, p. 82, says that the battle under reference was fought between Lāhore and Dipālpur, see also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* — Vol. I, Badauni — Text, p. 138.

concealed himself at the head of two thousand strong horse, in a neighbouring wood, suddenly fell upon Muhammad's troops. A desperate battle ensued, Muhammad, mortally wounded, died later. This battle forms the theme of one of Amī Khusraū's famous elegies.⁶⁴ A large number of Muslims came to be slain and in Amīr Khusraū's language, "in Multān, in every house there was some dead to be wept for."⁶⁵ Amīr Khusraū was himself taken captive but he managed to escape.⁶⁶ Thus the victory of the Mughals under Tamar Khān did not result in the occupation of any territory. At the death of Prince Muhammad, his son Kai Khusraū was appointed governor of the Panjāb in which the provinces of Lāhore and Multān were combined under him. Balban died in 1286.

The nobles led by Fakh-ud-din, the Kotwal of Delhi set aside Balban's nominee, Kai Khusraū, the governor of the Panjab, and placed Kaiqubad, Bughra Khan's son on the throne. Kaiqubad was only seventeen years old at the time of his succession, and had been brought up under the guardianship of his puritanical grand father.

At the end of Balban's reign, the boundary of the province of Delhi and the Panjāb remained roughly along the water parting between the Rāvi and Beas. As already mentioned, most of the provinces of Lāhore and Multān were under the Mughal influence. However, in spite of Kaiqubād's incompetence and the consequent laxity of vigilance, the defence system remained intact and refused to yield to further advantage of the Mughals.

Tamar Khān again overran the territory of the Panjāb from Multān to Lahōre and laid waste "the whole country as far as Samānā". Malik Bektar was at once despatched by the Sultān, at the head of thirty thousand troops who routed them on the Rāvi and took a great number of them as prisoners. Mughals were hotly pursued up to the Jhelum and driven out of the Panjāb.

Kaiqubād had neglected the affairs of the state and Malik Jalāl-ud-din Feroze of the Khilji tribe had usurped all the powers

64. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* — Vol. I, Badauni — Text, p. 138.
The Life and Works of Amīr Khusraū-Mirzā (1935), pp. 56-59.

65. *The Life and Works of Amīr Khusraū-Mirzā*, p. 63.

66. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* — Sirhindi Bāsū, pp. 45-47.

of the state. He caused Kaiqabād to be murdered in a country palace in 1288 and set himself up as regent of the new infant king. He ascended the throne in 1290.

Conclusion

The history of the Panjāb for a century (1186-1290) right from the advent of the Ghorids up to the death of the last Sultān of the Mamluk dynasty was all chaos. Lahore, the heart of the Panjāb, remained an arena of strifes throughout the period, particularly at the time of accession of every new Sultān who managed to capture the throne with the connivance of the governors of Lahore, Multān and other small provinces of the Panjāb. Lahore and Multān were perpetually the main targets of devastation of the Mughal invaders during this period.

Qutab-ud-din Aibak came to the throne with the support of the Governors and the 'Amirs' of this province. Altutmish had to face great difficulties at the time of his accession as he was supported by the 'Amirs' of Delhi and the consent of the governors of Lahore, Multan and other important 'Amirs' of this province were not sought. It was on this account that Altutmish could not establish his supremacy over the people of the Panjāb, for many years as his contests with Yildiz, the ruler of Ghazni, Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā, Mangbarni and the Gakhars of the Salt Range had made the Panjāb a cockpit for the seizure of political supremacy. During his reign of twenty-six years, Panjāb remained practically under the various governors who owed their nominal fealty to the centre. And after Altutmish's death, for the next ten years to come, Panjāb, again remained an arena of revolts and governors were practically independent of the supremacy of the central government.

It was only with the accession of Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud that his Prime-Minister Balban controlled the destiny of this province for the next forty years. Balban got appointed very strong and scrupulous governors to this province e.g. Sher Khān (1254-67) and Prince Muhammad (1267-85). Balban's iron policy had saved the province from the Mughal menace. He dealt with the Gakhars who had nursed a deep hostility towards the Turks and were friendly to the Mughals. The Gakhars went to the extent

of inviting the Mughals for the Indian invasion and invariably gave them free passage through their country. He further curbed mutual faction among his 'Amirs' in order to establish a settled government. Regular appointments of governors to the provinces of Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Sunām, Sāmāna, Ghurhām, Sirhind and Jallandhar were made. Their disruptive tendencies were thoroughly watched by the vigilance department and the Sultān checked them and inflicted condign punishments on the defaulters.

The common man remained unconcerned with all these political changes. Since the establishment of the Muslim rule in the Panjāb, non-Muslims had no hand in the government and were absolutely ignored from the official patronage. Unlike the great Mughals to come, the rulers of the Mamluk dynasty did not patronise the indigenous talent and energy of non-Muslims except for minor posts in the revenue department and for menial duties. The Turks had no faith in the integrity of the Hindūs, and they were not offered high ranks in the civil as well as in the military departments. Their plight was miserable. They were forced to pay heavy taxes out of their meagre income, being the 'zimmis'.

Trade, industry, farming and other economic measures had all gone with the wind. The roads were unsafe, which were often infested by the bandits. The trade caravans would only move with the help of the imperial contingents. Sometimes very strict measures were taken by the central government to check all those disruptive tendencies. Yet the sudden changes of the governors and other chiefs made them ineffective.

Reviews

HEROINES OF TAGORE, a study in the transformation of Indian Society 1875-1941. By Bimanbehari Majumdar: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, I Edition, 1968—pp. VIII + 345. Price Rs. 30/-.

The literary works of Poet Rabindranath Tagore were subjected to a searching criticism by Indian and foreign writers. A common defect of most of these critics is the want of objectivity in the angle of approach, added to a superficial study of the works. Nor do they take into consideration the changes in the political and social environments in North India after the advent of English education and anglicised attitudes to life and the successive mental modifications, born of growing age, of the poet which must have had its reaction on the role of the varying characters in his works. In fact the poet himself has changed even the names of the characters in the English version and their role in the novel, thereby showing the significance of advancing time in changing the attitudes of the characters.

B. B. Majumdar, the author of this book, which is a collection of lectures delivered in the University of Calcutta in 1967 (Yogendra Mohini Lectures) has not only pointed out these characteristics of the criticisms but has also himself steered clear of these drawbacks while writing about the heroines of Tagore. None of the works of the Poet has escaped the notice of Majumdar and a scrupulously close and revealing study of the characters has been given in the book. The language is as apt as the study is critical. Some of the remarks of the author about the heroines are worth noting.

While giving a glimpse of the life of 228 women, designated as heroines, the author pertinently writes that "While almost all of them are products of the periods in which they were written, some are the heralds of the succeeding epoch" (page 1). As a keen observer of the strata, manners, customs and observances of the people of the times, when a phenomenal transformation in the mental and social set up of the people was in the making, the

poet portrays these aspects through the mouth of the heroines and their conduct towards society and partners in life. Here the poet gives vent to his feelings regarding the husband-wife attitudes the case of young widows, the evil of the dowry system, the interclass marriages legalised by the state, the distintegrating joint family life, the loosening hold of the caste system and the part played by women in the Satyagraha movement. Copious illustrations are given of each type of heroine as a product of the advancing age. A study in contrast between heroines is afforded by the author to show that he knew "That in depicting the character of the heroine he was not merely providing a mirror of social transformation but also giving a conscious lead in the creation of a freer and nobler type of society." (page 13). The contrast in characterisation is particularly marked between the pre-independence and post-independence days and the pre-world war and post-war periods. Special chapters have been devoted to bring out these aspects. In fact, in some major social aspects, the poet had his reservations as contrasted with the views of Mahatma Gandhi. His view on Satyagraha as a political weapon is very well-known. In the author's opinion Tagore has portrayed, through the heroines and their attitude, "The successive stages of the emancipation of women".

The book gives an impartial estimate of the poet's women characters. It also reveals the sharp reactions of women and men to varying types of sex-ridden, anglicised youths caught between the conventions of the old order and the licence of the new one.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN-TYPES OF NORTHERN INDIA: by Lallanji Gopal. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 12; published by the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966; pp. 81 + pl. XII; Price Rs. 15/-.

This short and interesting work is a typological study of coins falling within a restricted geographical zone and time-scale. Dr. Lallanji Gopal deals in this monograph with the different types seen among the early mediaeval coins of northern India. The coin-types discussed are varied and include those of King and

fire-altar, Standing king and seated goddess, Hanuman and lion attacking Elephant, Cow suckling calf etc. The treatment of the subject consists of a discussion on the origin, authorship and historical implications of the different types. This is followed by an account of the coin-types under the names of the issuing powers like the rulers of Kashmir, Indo-Sassanian kings, Gurjara-Pratiharas, Palas, the Jajapella dynasty of Narwar, Surasena dynasty, Shahis of Ohind, Kalachuris, Chandellas, Gahadavalas, Rashtrakūṭas of Badaun, Yadus of Bayana, Chahamanas etc. All the types are adequately described and illustrated. There is no doubt that this will be immensely useful to students of numismatics and will be of help in removing vague notions regarding early medieval coins in North India and preparing the ground for future research.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

ZIYĀD BIN ABĪH. By K. A. Fāriq. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, pp. 172 + XVI. Price Rs. 20/-.

'Ziyād bin Abih' is an excellent work. Though it is professedly a biography of Ziyād, it is much more than that, and gives in outline the salient features of the history of the early years of the Caliphate from the time of Umar, the al-Fārūq, to that of Muāwiya, the first Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. This history is woven round Ziyād, one of the most notable statesmen that the Arab race had produced in the 7th century A.D. The work is based on contemporary Arabic sources and is a critical account of the struggle of the Arabs to conquer and consolidate an empire, with special reference to the part played by Ziyād in the great work of reconstruction and consolidation.

Ziyād was a man of obscure origin, and his parents, who were said to have been of Greek nationality, were the slaves of an Arab physician at Taif, a town 50 miles east of Mecca. His mother was known to be a woman of immoral character, and although when he rose to importance Ziyād became generally known as the son of Abu-Sufyan, father of the future Caliph Muāwiya, there is no conclusive proof of his having had the blood of the Umayyad chief in his veins. Born, probably, in 622 A.D., the

year of the Prophet's flight to Mecca, Ziyād started life as a slave and became eventually the governor of the Eastern Caliphate, which he ruled for $8\frac{1}{2}$ years (665-672 A.D.) with great success. The provinces under his charge were: (1) Lower Iraq, (2) Khuzistan, (3) Fāris, (4) Kirman, (5) Makran including the Sind Frontier, (6) Sijistan (Central and Southern Afghanistan), (7) Khurasan, (8) Bahrayan, and (9) Uman, Not long after upper Iraq, Jibar and Azarabijan were added to them. He suppressed insurrection and lawlessness that had swept the Caliphate after Muhammad's death, gave peace and order to the territories in his charge and established an impartial judicial system. He also did much to propagate the Islamic way of living, and taught the people to lead a peaceful and settled life. He excavated canals, built mosques and erected other works of public utility. His achievements have been described by Dr. Fāriq with a measure of critical acumen not usually associated with men of *belle-lettres*. His style is clear and language above reproach and free from verbosity. The most important part of the narrative for the student of Indian history is the account of the early Arab expeditions which preceded the final and successful invasion of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim. There is some confusion about one or two dates, particularly that of the death of Ziyād which had been given variously by the author as 672, 673 or 674 A.D. A more detailed account of the Arab society of the 7th century A.D. which could make it possible for the humblest of men, slaves and bastards to rise to positions of eminence and honour would have been welcome. Both the learned author and the University of Delhi (which bore the entire cost of this scholarly publication) deserve thanks of all students and lovers of Islamic history and culture.

A. L. SRIVASTĀVA.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA: Part I, A-D: published by Indic Academy, Varanasi, 1967; royal 4 to pages 120; price Rs. 20.00.

While it is easy to trace blemishes in a work of this type, no serious reader of the book under review is likely to escape the feeling that an important publication has been spoilt by poor

compilation, careless editing and bad printing. This is specially deplorable because the book is likely to be consulted by the students for many years to come.

According to the title page, the book is 'based on Vedic, Puranic, Tantric, Jain, [and?] Buddhistic and Historical Records', from which the epics and various kinds of Indian and foreign works appear to have been inadvertently omitted. The title page and Publisher's Note indicate that the work of compilation of the book has been done by the three Assistants Satyanarain Pandey, Chhedi Singh and Bhagwan Singh under 'the active cooperation' and 'guidance' of the following members of an Editorial Board—Prof. K. D. Bajpai (Chief Editor), 'Dr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri' (sic), M. M. Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Dr. B. C. Law and Dr. Rajbali Pandey. It is of course difficult to eradicate all errors from the writings of the type of research workers available now-a-days; but if modern names like 'Nilakantha Shastri' and 'H. C. Rai Chaudhuri' (see the Note ascribed to the Chief Editor) are no model of accuracy, what can the reader expect in respect of ancient and medieval names?

We are particularly interested in the volume because, at the U.G.C. Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, some youngmen are compiling a similar geographical 'Dictionary' under the reviewer's guidance, Vol. I of which being now practically ready for the press. Because the reviewer is the only supervisor of the said work, the volume under review, full of blemishes in spite of so many big names on its title page, offers indeed a real cause of alarm to him. The apprehension is greater when it is felt that the 'Dictionary' seems to have four times more entries than the 'Encyclopaedia' which moreover contains a large number of modern geographical names (e.g. Amoda, Aphsad, Badami, Betul, etc., which are find-spots of inscriptions and are included on account of indiscretion borrowed from Law's *Historical Geography of Ancient India*).

One of the main defects of the book is that Greek, Chinese and Perso-Arabic sources have not been properly tapped so that well-known names like Barygaza, Boucephalus, Dachinabades, etc., An-to-lo, Chu-li-ye, Chi-na-p'uh-ti, etc., and Barhamsil, Bhailsan, Banavās, etc., are not mentioned. Names like Baidīśa, Baradā,

Barendra, etc., are spelt with *b* instead of *v* on account of indiscretion borrowed from N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*.

Another defect is that often views of different scholars have been accepted without acknowledgment. 'Ayudhā: Same as Yaudheya' (p. 43) has no citation of authority, ancient or modern. The note on Dvārikeśvarī (p. 120) is adapted from N. L. Dey without mentioning the fact. Under Dvāravatī (p. 120), we are told, "It is one of the Śakti pīṭhas where the goddess is called Rukmiṇī (Nāma)", without stating that it has been adapted from Sircar's *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (p. 84) and that Nāma = Nāmāṣṭottaraśata is not a genuine name known to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature. Likewise at p. 83, we have, "The city of Campā near Lakhisarai in Monghyr district was once the city of Aṅga," without indicating that it has been taken from Sircar's *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (p. 27, note 5) and that Sircar has discarded the view in favour of the location of Campā near Bhāgalpur (*Indian Studies: Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, April-June, 1966, p. 259, note 6; cf. *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, 1967, pp. 35 and n, 36 and n, 77, 99, 104, 152, 155).

Besides innumerable typographical and linguistic errors (e.g., 'Amāgaci' for 'Āmgāchi' at p. 19 out-of-place in the alphabetical order, 'Aūrpa' for 'Arūpa' at p. 34, 'Bhagavānamāṭha' for 'Bhagavanmaṭha' at p. 58 'Baṅgarh' for 'Bāṅgaḍh' at p. 51, 'Barina' and 'Barma' for 'Burma' at p. 53, etc.), there are numerous factual errors. Cf. 'Anaṅgabhīma III, circa 1221-38 A.D.' (p. 1), though the king ascended the throne ten years earlier. "The city of Khurasana (i.e. the Persian kingdom in Western Asia)" (p. 9) and "Inscriptions of Gautamimitra, N. G. Majumdar, I.H.Q." (p. 8) appear to be meaningless. "In the Nasik record of Queen Gautamī Bāla-Śrī (correctly *Balaśrī*) the capital of this ancient country was Vidiśā" (p. 11), even though Vidiśā does not occur in the said inscription. At p. 3, 'Achāvaḍa' of Lūders' List, Nos. 339, 348 and 581 has been wrongly identified with 'Achavata' of No. 1123 and both the names are quoted as 'Acāvaḍa (Accavaṭa)' through confusion. (At p. 19, we have, "Amdhapatiya: The Sanskrit equivalent of it may be amdhavatī. Amdha-patiya occurs in the Maridavolu Copper-plate Inscription," though *Amdhāpatiya* no doubt stands for Sanskrit *Andhrāpathīya* (i.e. 'belonging to Andhrāpatha') and *Maridavolu* is a mistake for *Mayidavolu*.)

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We have little doubt that, if the editors would have carefully revised each only about 17 pages (out of the 120 pages of the Part under review), the publication would have been a better show. In the name of Indian scholarship, the reputation of which is at stake, we therefore request them to be so good as to undertake serious revision of the future parts of the work

D. C. SIRCAR.

SOUTH ASIAN HISTORY 1750-1950, A GUIDE TO PERIODICALS, DISSERTATIONS, AND NEWSPAPERS: By Margaret H. Case. Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 1968. Price \$ 17.50.

There is a vast amount of material, bearing on the history of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and pertaining to the period 1750-1950, that lies concealed in periodicals, dissertations and newspapers. Margaret H. Case, Lecturer in the School of International Service at the American University, has prepared a major bibliographical Guide to aid scholars working on modern South Asian history which is deliberately selective, depending on the contribution to facts or original interpretation. The articles included in the Guide are concerned with people and developments during the period indicated. The aim of the book is to help the research scholars to find useful material distributed in the vast periodical literature in Western languages. The book offers an annotated list of over 5000 articles from some 350 periodicals, some of which have not been indexed before. Dissertations for Doctorate degrees from South Asian, European and American Universities have been included. Many English and bi-lingual English-Vernacular newspapers and 250 Vernacular papers of South Asia are listed. Historical developments in South Asia provide ample scope for research. The material has been systematically arranged under 12 major headings and 144 sub-headings. More than 6000 articles and dissertations little known before are referred to, as well as several problems overlooked hitherto. Many South Asian newspapers of the 19th and the 20th centuries providing ample social material have been listed.

As Stephen N. Hay correctly observes in the Foreword, the book "greatly extends our bibliographical control" over several

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types of source material, important for the study of the history of India. Most of the newspapers referred to do not exist in complete files, unfortunately destroyed as they are by vermin and climate. This reminds one in India of the urgent need for micro-filming of all useful documents now available. Margaret H. Case has successfully finished a really difficult and useful work and deserves the gratitude of all research scholars who, to begin their work on South Asian history, have necessarily to know what material is available and where it is.

P. K. K. MENON.

EXCAVATIONS AT SHAMALAJI: By Dr. R. N. Mehta and A. J. Patel. Published by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, The Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda, 1967, p. 56. Price Rs. 10/-.

This is a short report on the excavations conducted at Shamalaji in North-East Gujarat by the late Dr. B. Subbarao in the year 1962. Though Dr. Subbarao is no more with us, his colleagues have faithfully completed his task and brought out this report which is a fitting tribute to his memory. The report contains four main chapters dealing with the chronology, structures, pottery and antiquities, besides the usual introductory and concluding chapters. The chronology of the site has been fixed mainly on the basis of pottery. Since the structural remains have been unearthed from almost all periods in sufficient numbers and intact, some space could have been given for a description of the cuttings which could enable scholars to correlate the position of the structures in relation to the stratigraphy which is an important aspect of any excavation involving structural remains. In the chapter on pottery it is stated that Plain Black wares, Plain red ware, Plain burnished ware etc. occurred in all layers from the bottom-most to the top-most, the reasons for which are not explained. The excavations have thrown welcome light on the early history of Shamalaji revealing that it flourished as an important fortified township in North-East Gujarat, maintaining trade and cultural contacts with the Roman empire and the other parts of India in the early centuries of the Christian era, and later periods respectively. The Report is a welcome addition to the

existing scanty literature on Field Archaeology and will be generally useful to those who are engaged in the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture, particularly of the Gujarat region.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

WEST BENGAL AND THE FEDERALIZING PROCESS IN INDIA: By Marcus F. Franda. Princeton 1968, pp. 257. \$ 7-50.

Although the framers of the Indian constitution desires it to be one with a "strong central or general government", they were fully aware of the special conditions in which the constitution would have to function. The vastness of the country and the differences in language, social customs and tradition of its vast population are factors obviously inimical to the emergence of a well-knit federal union. The federal form of government in India is therefore bound to be a sort of co-operative federalism in which neither the centre nor the regional governments can in reality be completely independent. In the present book, the author, an American scholar, has attempted to examine how far the pattern of centre-state relationship that has been evolving since 1947 conforms to the above generalisation. Prof. Franda's study is based on field research carried out in West Bengal over a period of eighteen months (Dec. 1962 to June 1964), and a concerned with the relations between the union government and the government of West Bengal since independence. For this purpose, he has made three case studies — one concerning the redrawing of the boundary between West Bengal and Bihar, the second relating to the Damodar valley corporation, in the establishment and operation of which the centre and the states of West Bengal and Bihar were involved, and the third covering the progress of land reform legislation in West Bengal. As regards, the last case, although land reforms and agricultural policy are matters concerning the state, the centre is particular that reforms made in this direction in the states conform to a general pattern visualised by the union government.

The findings of the study reveal that in these three cases, the final decisions depended a great deal on negotiations and bargaining between the governments at the two levels. Much depend-

ed also on the views of the political parties in power in the state and their bargaining power as well as on the attitude of the people in general. It is interesting to note that in none of these cases did the centre take a recalcitrant or rigid attitude but left the issues to be decided on the basis of agreement between the parties concerned. All these would make one feel that the states have a considerable amount of freedom in the shaping of policy affecting inter-state or state-centre relationship. Obviously, the smooth working of a federal form of government depends on good relationship between the centre and the states which in turn depends on the existence of a strong political party in power at the two levels of government. Since the book was published, the Congress party has lost much of its hold in many of the states and even at the centre, and the emergence into power of new parties and the formation of coalition governments present a serious threat to the ideal of co-operative federalism.

Prof. Franda's book is a valuable aid to the understanding of the political currents and cross-currents which are working in the country to-day. He maintains an objective, scholarly attitude throughout the book, and his case study method of analysing the political, economic and social factors underlying the important political decisions of the West Bengal states would serve as a model for similar studies relating to the other states of the country.

D. BRIGHT SINGH.

HINDU INHERITANCE INCORRUPTIBLE, STUDIES MAINLY IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE STATE AND COMMUNITY: By Basanta Kumar Mallik; Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay 6-1-A. Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12, for The Basanta Kumar Mallik Trust 1967. PP. IX+242.

This is a collection of essays written by Basanta Kumar Mallik on topics of special interest to India and published posthumously by the Basanta Kumar Mallik Trust. The author is an embodiment of a counter Revolution in Indian thought closely following in the wake of the early Independence era. The sweeping wave of pro-British predilections, negating the precious traditions followed by the Hindus in the field of social and political

life was an eyesore to the author and hence his reactionary speeches and writings upholding the practices of the Hindus. This is well illustrated by the title of this book.

The book contains twelve essays each under very attractive and interesting titles like Society as a Concept, the Technique of Social Reconstructions, Buddhism and Vedantism, Mahatma Gandhi etc. An under current of metaphysics runs through all the essays, leaving the reader, at times, in a world of higher thoughts, as incomprehensible, as it is ennobling. He has scant courtesy for the type of machinery set up by the Britisher and hence freely indulges in such thoughts as "The British States and its Parliament functioned in the universe of the negative and were therefore bound to fail in their objective" (page 13). At times he goes to heights of prejudice as when he says "And certainly the technique of partition is neither Hindu nor Mohammadan; it is historically of European origin and fits readily into the parliamentary scheme" (page 19). His essay "Radhakrishnan and Philosophy of the State and Community" (pages 23 to 65) is a unique piece of literature analysing the forces of conflict in the world. He prays "for an end of domination and of the suppression of spirit that follows it" (page 64).

In the author's view "the academic world of to-day suffers from a near eclipse of the humanities generally and of metaphysics in particular." To him the alien political innovations of today in the empty name of progress lack moral leadership.

The language of the essays is pleasing though the thought is perhaps too heavy for an ordinary reader.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

HISTORY OF INDONESIA (Early and Medieval): By Dr. B. R. Chatterji, Ph.D., D.Litt. Published by Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1967, Price Rs. 21.00.

Dr. B. R. Chatterji has been one of the pioneers in India to unfold the story of the Indian cultural influence in certain sectors of South-East Asia. He has lately retired as Head of the South-East Asian Studies Department of the School of International

Studies, New Delhi. In 1927, he had published, in collaboration with the late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, a work under the title 'India and Java'. It went through a second edition in 1933. The third edition appeared in 1967 under a new title: History of Indonesia. In his preface, Dr. Chatterji states: "India and Java and Greater India smack too much of Indian self-glorification — such is Indonesian sentiment now-a-days." This may well be true, but the term 'Greater India' has never been used, to my knowledge, in a modern context. It is doubtful if modern susceptibilities regarding an ancient phenomenon of history can justify the falsification of history. 'Greater India' is a term which is being used for the last few decades by all scholars alike, until the recent fashion of some European scholars to belittle the achievements of the ancient Indians in an area of continental dimension in South-East Asia. Even now, many scholars from Europe and America have continued to use terms like Indo-China, Further India, Indian Archipelago etc. Is there any alternative to the name of Indonesia? Ancient and medieval writers have included a considerable part of South-East Asia within the geographical frontiers of India, so great was this cultural influence. Those who have used the term Greater India have never used the term in a sense of political domination nor used it in a modern sense. There is therefore no ground to be ashamed of the terms which Dr. Chatterji has abhorred.

The author has referred to the visit of Fa-hien from Ceylon to West Java on p. 7, but he should have mentioned that another important school of scholars places Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien in West Borneo. Regarding Kuñjarakuñja (p. 8), C. has cited an obsolete theory propounded by Kern many decades ago. There is no place of this name in southern India: the name referred to by Kern is Kuñjaradari. The latest discussion on the subject is by the present writer in his edition of the Canggal inscription published in the *Journ. of the As. Soc.* I, 1959, pp. 183 ff., where this geographical name has disappeared on account of the translation of the relevant verse as "beautiful woodland inhabited by elephants." It is not also proper to say now (p. 9) that "Old Javanese is a mixture of Sanskrit and a Polynesian dialect." It is rather an Austronesian dialect, which I should rather prefer to use in place of Polynesian, in which considerable Sanskrit words were intro-

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duced. The structure of the sentences is Austronesian,—a language which has no number, gender, case or any inflexion. On pp. 23 and 53, the author categorically states that the destruction of Dharmmavamśa's kingdom was on account of Sailendra offensive, but this cannot be proved with the available data. On p. 65, the author describes *Amaramālā* as a translation of the Sanskrit *Amarakoṣa*. The two works are similar but not identical, as shown by Kern and Gonda. On the same page, the author refers to Borobudur as a monument of the Śiva-Buddha cult. Although the monument epitomises the creeds of the Vajradhara sect, as Bosch, Stutterheim and other scholars have shown, it would be unjustified to regard it as a monument of the Śiva-Buddha cult, as the two deities did not fuse together in that monument. On p. 72, the author has held the discarded view of Kern that the writer of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* did not know Sanskrit. It has been proved sometime ago that the earlier portion of the Old-Jav. text is a translation of relevant portions of the *Bhāṭṭikāvya*, while the rest is an adaptation of the Rāma-saga yet unidentified. Some scholars believe that Yogīśvara's proficiency in Sanskrit was derived from personal study in one of the centres of Sanskrit learning in India. In discussing the *Rāmā*, the author should not have neglected to study its date. While discussing the *Mahābhārata*, the *Wayang* and the *Lakon*, he has similarly neglected to discuss the date of the *Mbh.* and the story of the origin of the second one and its connection with ancestral worship. The Old-Jav. adaptation of the Skt. *Mbh.* was undertaken during the reign of king Dharmmavamśa, Airlangga's father-in-law, and not during the latter's reign, as stated (p. 86). Regarding *Bhārata-yuddha*, it has been observed that the work was written by Panuluh (p. 87). The fact is that the main portion of the work was written by Mpu Sedah, but when that author fell into disgrace at the royal court, the work was completed by Panuluh. The author states on p. 96 that the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* dates from the 14th-15th century. This view is not shared by any scholar since 1927. The point has been discussed by Goris in his *Oud-Java. en Balineesche Theologie* and Wulff in *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist. filol. Meded.* XXI, 4 (Copenhagen, 1935). Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. Gonda have also discussed the matter in their writings in English. My Indian influences on the literature of Java and Bali may also be seen. The

Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan was probably written in Java (Central) during the rule of one of the Śailendra monarchs. In the second quarter of the 10th century, it was revised by Sambhara Sūryāvaraṇa, during the reign of king Siṇḍik. Goris has creditably distinguished three layers in this text.

As regards the text and translation of several inscriptions at the end of the book, the author has retained unchanged the original chapter written in 1927. Although the introductory portion of some of these inscriptions is still valuable in some parts, new discoveries or interpretation of facts have made this part of the work largely obsolete. In fact, these descriptions cannot be utilised without a close check-up.

Among minor inaccuracies, one may mention Jangal (p. 8) in place of Canggal, 691 for 671 A.D. (p. 15), etc.

All these defects do not detract from the merit of the work as a whole. It is to be hoped that the author will remove the defects mentioned above and eliminate the portion dealing with inscriptions, should a further edition of the work be called for. If the inscriptions are to be retained, these are to be fully revised. The work generally presents well-authenticated view in other portions of the work not commented upon. The printing and get-up of the book are attractive.

H. B. SARKAR.

IKṢVĀKUS OF VIJAYAPURI: By Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Retired Professor of History, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati. (Sri Venkateswara University Historical Series, No. 4). Published by the Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, 1967.

The Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī, now popularly known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, were an important dynasty of rulers who held sway over portions of Southern Āndhra after the fall of the Sātavāhanas. Not much was known about them till the excavations conducted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley by Longhurst in 1926 brought them into the lime light of the early history of the Āndhra country. Thanks to the large-scale and systematic excavations

conducted in the area for over six years by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam and his colleagues we have now a variety of valuable archaeological material in the shape of monuments, inscriptions, sculptures and coins which are helpful for the reconstruction of the history of the Ikṣvākus and their times. Studies on some of the different aspects of the history of the Ikṣvākus have been published. But the monograph under review by Dr. M. Rama Rao is the first full account on the subject which has utilised all the available archaeological and literary material relating to it.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters. The first two chapters deal respectively with the origin and rise of the Ikṣvākus while the next two deal with their genealogy and chronology. It is felt that they were originally a northern family who migrated to and settled down in the Deccan and mixed with the local people. Since they lived near the Śrī Parvata hill they were known as the Śrī Parvatiyas, and since they accepted the overlordship of the Andhras they were known as the Andhra bhṛtyas. The post Sātavāhana history of the Āndhradēsa is largely the history of a number of small kingdoms till the coming into existence of the Kingdom of the Cālukyas of Vengi, and the Ikṣvākus were one among them, and had close relations with some of them. Dr. Rama Rao takes 220 A.D. as the initial year of Ikṣvāku rule and 75 years as its duration. Thus according to the author Ikṣvāku rule came to an end by 295 A.D. Though the initial date for the rise of the Ikṣvākus may be accepted, it may not be so easy to accept 295 A.D. as the date of the end of the Ikṣvāku rule. Their rule appears to have extended for about half a century more at least and Pallava Simhavarman of the Mancikallu inscription who may be assigned to the second quarter of the fourth century seems to have had something to do with it. Vasusena Ābhira, one of whose inscriptions dated in his thirtieth year is found in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is said to have installed the image of Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi at the place. The inscription refers to one Saka Rudra of Avanti, who may probably be identified with Rudrasena II the Kṣatrapa. The synchronism among Vasusena, Saka Rudra and Ehuvala Chantamula would show that the Abhira King ruled in the beginning of the fourth century.

Dr. Rama Rao describes in Chapter V the contemporaries of the Ikṣvākus, and in the next five chapters the political history of

the Ikṣvāku kingdom. After describing the Ikṣvāku administration in Chapter XI the author gives in the next three chapters a comprehensive account of the religious and secular monuments and sculptures at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The last chapter contains a list of the inscriptions recovered from Nagarjunakonda in the course of the excavations.

The book is a welcome addition to the slender literature on the history of the less known, but important dynasty of the Ikṣvākus that ruled from Vijayapurī immediately after the fall of the Sātavāhanas.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

LIFE IN NORTH-EASTERN INDIA IN PRE-MAURYAN TIMES
(with special reference to c. 600 B.C.-325 B.C.): By Madan Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna. Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, 1967. Pp. 306 + XXV. Price Rs. 25/-.

This scholarly work was prepared as a doctoral thesis under the able guidance of the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and approved for the Ph.D. degree of Patna University in 1957. It is divided into 15 chapters, and gives, in addition, a two-page conclusion, a good bibliography and an Index. It is not a mere catalogue of facts or a descriptive narrative of the life of the people, their houses, their dress, food, amusements and income and of how they spent their leisure, as is generally the case with books of this type. The author has done well in tracing the birth and evolution of the social, philosophical, religious and some of the economic institutions of the period under review. He follows the comparative method, and discusses the main characteristics of these institutions in a critical and scholarly manner. For example, its first chapter on 'Caste Organisation', traces the birth of this institution from the Vedic times and gives its evolution till the age with which this thesis deals. The second chapter on slavery is equally well-written. Extremely illuminating are the chapters on marriage and courtesans. The learned author points out the differences in the forms of marriage through the ages. He tells us that highly

placed courtesans were honoured in society. Lord Buddha accepted an invitation by a courtesan of high rank, named Ambapāli, went to her residence for food, and accepted her dedication of a grove, which became known as the Ambapāli grove, to the Sangha. This shows that some courtesans occupied no mean position in society. The account of food and drink is interesting, and so also is that of popular festivals. The most important chapters are on religious and monastic life, the Buddhist monasteries, rural economy, art, crafts, professions and industries and organisation of industry and trade. The chapter on currency, dress, fees, salaries, and wages too is good. The last one is on the carvana. In short the book is a valuable piece of research, is well-written and gives a correct and illuminating pen-picture of the society in Bihar and eastern U.P. during the Pre-Mauryan days. Although there are a few printing errors here and there, the book is well-brought-out.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

FAMINES IN INDIA 1860-1965: By Prof. B. M. Bhatia, 2nd Edn., 1967. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, pp. 389, Rs. 30.

One would wish that the subject of Prof. Bhatia's detailed and well-documented study had become a thing of the past. Unfortunately, it is not so. In spite of eighteen years of planned economic development, self-sufficiency in food remains still a distant ideal in India. And the occurrence of famine conditions in Orissa and Bihar in very recent times brings home the fact that the problem of famines even now is as serious and as real as it was a century ago. Hence a study of the nature and causes of the great famines in the past and the measures taken by the Government to provide relief and prevent the recurrence of famines has not only some topical significance but is also of practical value.

The book under review is the second edition of the publication brought out in 1963. It has been well received by the publicists and students of Indian economic problems. It is an excellent piece of research work based on an intelligent and careful study of original records. Prof. Bhatia's review covers the period between 1860 and 1908. For purposes of detailed analysis the famines that occurred in these years are grouped chronologically into three sub-periods—1860-79, 1880-95 and 1896-1908. Each of these sections

contains three chapters, the first dealing with the state of the economy on the eve of the famine period, the second, giving a brief account of the scarcities and famines in each period, and the third discussing the relief and preventive measures taken by the government. The uniformity in the method of analysis in the three sections makes for a little monotonous reading; nevertheless, it undoubtedly contributes to the clarity of exposition and helps in an easier and better understanding of the common as well as distinctive features of the famines in these years. Among the causes of famines in the second half of the nineteenth century, the author lays emphasis on the commercial revolution and the improvements in the means of transport which facilitated the export of food grains, and the excessive attachment of the bureaucracy to the *laissez faire* policy. The latter showed itself in the form of government's reluctance to import food grains for fear that if such imported supplies were sold at low prices they would discourage private traders importing food grains on their own account. Quite a large number of relief and protective measures were adopted such as provision of work at low wages, grants and loans to the cultivators, remissions and suspension of land tax, relief of rural indebtedness and construction of irrigation works. But the basic cause was the chronic poverty of the masses which in turn was the effect of a combination of factors such as low yield of agriculture, the failure of wages to raise in step with prices, lack of industrialization, unsatisfactory means of transport and a rapid growth of population. As long as these fundamental defects remained, preventive measures had little chance of success.

Chapter XI contains a detailed account of the Bengal famine of 1943 which in several respects was different from the famines of the 19th century and early 20th century. As the author correctly points out, conditions might not have been so bad as they really were, had the administration been aware of the consequences of the disappointing trends in food production and the loss of Burma. Administrative slackness, especially on the distributional side, also contributed to the seriousness of the disaster. With the review of the happenings of 1943 in Bengal, Dr. Bhatia closes his account of Indian famines. In the last chapter, he examines India's food problem after independence. The partitioning of the country resulted in a chronic deficiency in food supplies in the Indian union, and the country since then has been a net importer of food. As short

term measures to ease the problem, the author recommends better procurement policy and more efficient means of inter-state distribution of food; but his discussion of what passes as food policy in the country is rather cursory; nor does he explain fully the root causes of the trouble—the rapid growth of population, and the unbalanced development of the agricultural and industrial sectors. In the present context in India, Prof. Bhatia's warning note at the end of the book, namely, that food problem in India is a challenge to economic progress and national unity deserves special attention.

D. BRIGHT SINGH

JOURNAL OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY: Vol. I, parts 1-2, 1967-68. Edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, 51/2, Hazre Road, Calcutta-19, 1968. Annual subscription Rs. 12/- inland and £ 3.00 foreign.

We are very happy to see before us Volume I of the Journal of Ancient Indian History edited by the recognised scholar, Professor D. C. Sircar. The intention of the Journal is to publish papers "on all aspects of the History and Culture of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent particularly relating to the period down to the 13th century A.D." The Journal will reprint articles in periodicals not easily accessible today and also publish those translated from other languages for the benefit of scholars. It is intended to include scholarly reviews of publications as well. The journal is bound to stimulate keen interest in research in the field of Ancient Indian History. We extend to it a hearty welcome guided, as it is, by an ardent student of history.

P. K. K. MENON

PERSIAN DOCUMENTS (FARSI AKHBĀRĀT WA MURĀSILĀT) Part I, Text, edited by P. Saran; published by the University of Delhi, by arrangement with Asia Publishing House, Bombay; 1966; 104 + 522 pp.; Rs. 50/-.

Dr. Pramatta Saran deserves the gratitude of research workers in the field of the history of what may be called the Dawn

of modern India, for bringing out this volume containing the text of 234 Persian news-letters and kindred documents covering the period 1773-1803 housed in the National Archives of India. The work of editing must have been difficult, as most of these documents are in *shikasta* script where the essentials of Persian orthography, such as dots and dashes, are not always considered necessary, and where there is a complete absence of any punctuation marks. Moreover, as the editor says, some of these documents are worm-eaten and in case a conjecture of the destroyed portion is not possible the space had to be left blank. He rightly remarks that "the eighteenth century was a time when the country was in the throes of unprecedented lawlessness" and "Maratha, and Sikh, Jat and Pathan vied with one-another in subjecting the helpless people to ruthlessness, pillage, rapine and plunder Among other things we learn a great deal about the Sikh depredations in these Akhbārs". He goes on to say that the documents "afford a close-up of the tortuous diplomacy and unscrupulous policies of Indian chiefs". This was a period of great moment in the history of India, and the supremacy of the British was consequent on the Battle of Buxar in October, 1764 when they became the virtual masters of the wide eastern belt from Bihar to Karnatak, then by the fall of Seringapatam in May 1799 they were able to exercise hegemony in the south, and finally their victory over Sindhia's army in the Battle of Aligarh in September 1803 made them masters of the great northern plain. The news-letters and other documents contained in the volume may be read with advantage along with the history of these cataclystic events.

The collection is a part of the series published under the publication programme of the National Archives of India, and certain Bengali, Telugu, Sanskrit and Hindi documents have already been published. A large number of the letters in the present collection, 107 out of a total of 231 (all in Persian) are addressed to the Governor-General of India, while many are addressed to British officers of a lower rank such as the Residents at Poona, Hyderabad, Lucknow and Gwalior. There are quite a few letters throwing light on the affairs at Hyderabad which had become a virtual appanage of the English East India Company. Of great interest are the letters from the camp of Hydar 'Alī Khān and his son Tipū Sultān (called "Tipu Nayak" in the epistles) showing how far the tentacles of English "intelligence" had reached. One

of the letters from Hydar 'Alī's camp mentions the conquest of Cuddapah and the *pēshkash* by Nawab Baṣālat Jung, brother of the Nizam, to Hydar. These and other letters throw fresh light on some of the important events of the period. It is rather a pity that for the names of some of the addressors and the addressees one has to turn to the table of contents, and it would have facilitated work on these documents if they had been mentioned invariably in the beginning of each.

The learned editor has appended a good bibliography and a useful glossary of Persian terms, though at times he has slightly strayed off the mark. Thus he says that the word "Kamandan" is a "corrupted form" of Commandant, and that "Walandez" is a "corrupted form" of Walindi, an inhabitant of Holland. There is no question of "corruption" at all, for these orientalised names belong to the same genre as the Urdu words, *Angrēz*, *Frānsīsī*, *Bartānawī*, *Itālāwī*, etc., which have become a part and parcel of the language. There are two useful indices, an index of persons with notes on the importance of the persons indicated and a topographical index showing the district and province in which the particular place noted is situated.

It seems a pity that this book lacks short explanatory notes in English containing the gist of each important letter or a group of letters. The number of scholars who are conversant even with the Persian alphabet is dwindling fast in India, and not many are left who can utilise the bare published letters with any advantage. Explanatory notes in English are usually appended to volumes of similar historical importance, such as those edited by Raghubir Singh of Sitamau (who has a unique collection of *Akḥbārs*, original or copies), and the Poona *Akḥbārs* published by the Central Record Office of the erstwhile Government of Hyderabad. In case this was not possible perhaps for fear of increasing the bulk, the learned editor could have made his "Introductory Note" larger than the present one, denoting the purport of the important news-letters. One supposes that even this was not possible owing to the Editor's "very heavy pre-occupations", but the collection and editing of highly important Persian documents should have had some priority. Explanatory notes or analysis with reference to these letters included in the "Introductory note" would have been of immense value. This is only the first volume, and it is to be hoped that the

second instalment when released, will have this lacuna filled in. The epithet, "Part One: Text" perhaps alludes to a promise that "Part Two" will consist at least of gists of the news-letters contained in this volume.

This book is beautifully got up and printed in fine type, while the corrigenda cover barely 10 pages in a volume of 626 pages.

H. K. SHERWANI

INSCRIPTIONS OF ANDHRADESA — Vol. I: by Dr. M. Rama Rao, Published by Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 161.

The South Indian inscriptions that have been copied and published either in full or in summary form by different institutions or organisations are many, and it is becoming difficult to get at the publications in which they have been published. Therefore a list of all the inscriptions so far noticed will be useful to research workers dealing with the South Indian epigraphs. The present volume under review is an index to the published inscriptions of Andhradesa. Dr. M. Rama Rao, the author of the publication, points out in the preface that this is the first of the two volumes, the second being in the press. This index consists of (1) list of inscriptions surveyed (2) list of copper plate grants examined (3) list of inscriptions published and (4) dynastic index. The object of the publication is to help a researcher in picking out the reference to any of the published inscriptions from Andhradesa.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

VEDASAMIKṢĀ: Edited by Dr. E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, Sri Venkateswara University; Price Rs. 6.

The volume under review brings together in book form all but two of the papers presented at the Seminar on the Vedas held under the auspices of the Sanskrit Department of the Sri Venkateswara University in February 1964. The editor in his short preface explains the omission on account of the fact that the two papers in question had already been published elsewhere at

the time when the present volume was being prepared for the press.

The work is divided into two sections, the first consisting of 9 Sanskrit papers and the second of 18 out of 20 papers in English, originally presented at the Seminar. As a matter of fact these papers are of uneven quality, not a few showing signs of hasty preparation. It is not easy to see why Veda should be defined as a group of sentences that yield novel and useful knowledge (I.P. 15); this definition, obviously, is too wide. The reference to the 15 *śākhās* of the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* (1, p. 5), without noting that only two out of these are extant, may prove misleading. The assertion in the same paper (p. 6) that *svaras* or accents in Vedic words are comparable to the more or less arbitrary and conventional ascription of gender to nouns and voice (active or middle) to verbs ignores their status as natural linguistic phenomena. The affirmation that the characteristics of *svara* exist in consonants also (p. 7) is unintelligible; for, as linguistic phenomena accents are the exclusive attributes of vowels.

In discussing the accentuation of words and sentences, it is reasonable to expect the marking of accents; its omission in the several papers in this volume dealing with this topic is a serious handicap to the interested reader. The Sanskrit papers mainly deal with certain aspects of the first three Vedas; several of these papers on themes like *Vedeṣurājanītiḥ*, and *Śaunakiya śikṣā* are informative.

The papers in English constituting section II deal with their respective themes in a freer and more comprehensive manner. Their range may be indicated by such titles as Śrī Aurobindo's approach to the Vedas, Geographical data in the Vedas, the Vedic Economy, Games, etc., in the Vedic age, and the Vedas in the Sangam Literature. While most of these papers maintain a fairly high standard of objectivity and a notable degree of independence of judgment, special mention may be made of the contribution on the Vedic Economy (pp. 69-86) by Sri M. S. Prakasa Rao to underline the thoroughness with which the relevant material has been exploited, the objectivity of their analysis, and the soundness of the main conclusion arrived at. It is indisputable that "over a period of 14 centuries Aryan economy developed through pastoral, agricultural, industrial, and commercial stages into a vigorous and prosperous economy by the 6th century B.C.". (p. 86). . .

It is to be regretted that serious printing errors disfigure the text, notwithstanding the assertion that "no pains have been spared to read the proofs" (Preface). A few of these are noted below. On page 5, Section I *visarajanīya* is omitted after *ka*; *Śākhāyām śākhāyāṃprati* seems to be a misprint for *śākhām śākhām prati*. On page 6, after "*kecidpadaprayoga*" a *visarga* is wanting. On page 8 the expression beginning with *trayīlakṣaṇam* fails to make sense. On page 11 the word *urkachabdaḥ* is an error. So too is the expression *Vasiṣṭhāṅgira*, etc. on page 17. On page 46 the words beginning with *Śateṣu pañcasaptatiḥ* ... call for careful editing. In part II, page 7, 'tares' is obscure. On page 28 in f.n. 39, *pākayajñāḥ* is clearly an error; so too is f.n. 43 on page 29. The sense of the phrase 'mirth and gay' on the same page is elusive. Similar remarks are called for regarding several phrases in the succeeding pages also. On page 37 'designed' seems to stand for 'designated'. And so forth and so on.

But, of course the notable thing is the undertaking itself, the sustained endeavour, happily backed by the authorities, to hold symposia and seminars, to convene the interested Sanskrit scholars, and induce them to offer the fruits of their researches and reflections to a wider public, who, left without such reminders, may lapse into total indifference to their rich and varied cultural heritage. No praise, therefore, can be too much for the authorities of the Sri Venkateswara University for their enlightened effort to establish the cause of Sanskrit and the culture enshrined in it on a sure and scientific basis.

A. G. KRISHNA WARBIAR.

A DICTIONARY OF INDIAN HISTORY by Sachchidananda Bhattacharya: published by the Calcutta University, Calcutta, pp. XII + 888 (1967). Price Rs. 40/-.

Indian History in its varied aspects is a vast subject and it is difficult for the non-specialist to get information on some topics in it without hunting for them in numerous publications. This welcome publication which is the result of the sustained labours of Sachchidananda Bhattacharya for a number of years and "is intended to be a handy book of reference for students, teachers, journalists and general readers who may be interested in the study

of Indian History from ancient times" provides information in a brief and portable form—what might be called finger print information—on a variety of 2785 topics in Indian History such as persons, places, institutions, literary and historical works covering all periods and many aspects of Indian History. The volume though called *A Dictionary of Indian History* is more than that, and is a Desk Encyclopaedia of Indian History. In a publication of this kind where there are many entries, cross references are necessary and they are given in many places. The volume also contains at its end a chronologically arranged list of important dates in Indian History.

The preparation of a work of this kind without assistance is not an easy task. Great care has to be taken in the selection and treatment of the topics. The topics included in the volume may not be exhaustive, but they are comprehensive enough, though one may feel that some entries are not found in the volume. For instance, some of the post-Satavahana dynasties in the Deccan like the Ikshavakus, Sālankayanas, Vishnukundins and Brihuh Phalayanas, places like Nagarjunakonda, Srirangapatna and Tanjore, which are important historically, religious movements like those of the Nayanmars, Alvars, Dasa Kutas and the Mahanubhavas in the south are not mentioned in it. There are a few mistakes too. Nuniz (1535) is said to have visited the kingdom of Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1529) and travelled extensively over it. But these are minor omissions and errors which may be rectified in the next edition. The author deserves to be congratulated on this stupendous work. The U.G.C. and the Calcutta University are to be thanked for their encouragement to Sachchidananda Bhattacharya to complete the work and bring it out.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE LEGEND OF EMPEROR ASOKA IN INDIAN AND CHINESE TEXTS. By J. Przyluski, translated into English by Dilip Kumar Biswas. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 253 + VIII. Price Rs. 15/-.

Dr. Dilip Kumar Biswas has rendered a great service by translating and publishing Jean Przyluski's classical work, entitled *La Légende de l'Empereur Asoka* or 'The Legend of Emperor'.

Asoka, in the English language. Since the publication of its French version in 1923, scholars had felt the need of this authoritative work in the English garb. Dr. Biswas has now filled this gap. The original work was divided into two parts, but Dr. Biswas has translated Part I only which gives a minute and critical analysis of the northern Buddhist traditions about the Mauryan emperor Asoka as embodied in the Asokāvadān. This part consists of Jean Przyluski's valuable contribution to the studies of some important aspects of the Asokan traditions of the north. The work contains a learned 18-page Introduction and 8 chapters (the first chapter added by the translator makes them nine) and critical notes. It has, besides, several indices, viz., bibliographical index, general index, index of Sanskrit and Pali words, an index of Chinese and Tibetan words, and one of Iranian words. The Asokāvadān was written in Sanskrit, and, according to the learned author, at Mathura, and had naturally given prominence to that city and its Buddhist community. The Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, was written later in Kashmir. The Kashmirian compilers were aware of a text similar to that of Asokāvadān and they tried to alter it in order to exalt Kashmir at the expense of Mathura. The French savant discusses the various recensions of the Asokāvadān and critically examines the story of the first Buddhist council given in the book. The main part of the work deals with the deeds of Asoka and his life story. It is also an analytical study of the legend of Pindola Bhāradwaja and that of 'Asoka's Hell.' A very good account is given of the development of Eschatological ideas in Buddhism. In short, this scholarly work is indispensable for the understanding of the early Buddhist native traditions.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

THE TWELVE DEEDS OF BUDDHA (A MONGOLIAN VERSION OF THE LALITAVISTARA) by Nicholas Poppe (University of Washington Press, Seattle, Washington).

This mongolian version of the *Lalitavistara* is first published in 1967 by Otto Harrassowitz, Weisbaden, Germany. The author's introduction is very brief without any comparison of events occurring in the Sanskrit with *gāthā* dialect version of the *Lalita-*

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vistara as edited by Leffman with those in the book under review. 'The twelve deeds of Buddha' is the translation of a Tibetan text. What is the meaning of the *Pancaraksā*? What are they? The author is silent on the point. The author has ably edited the mongolian text but his notes are not at all full. He ought to have said much more about *Tuṣita* heaven (p. 80). Then comes his English translation.

In p. 113 *dhyāna* is meditation or rapt concentration, ecstatic trance.

In p. 115 Cf. Leffman's *Lalitavistara* Chs. 14 & 15.

In p. 121 *Trayasstrimśakas* or Pali *Tāvātimsa* gods (see my *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective*).

In 121 *samsāra* is not explained.

In 123 see Leffman's *Lalitavistara* Ch. 15; Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 189.

In p. 126 *Pāramitās* or perfections are ten in number, see *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 7, v. 15, *Buddhavamśa*, PTS, pp. 13 ff. Vide my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. V (Kern Institute Publication). The *Pāramitā* doctrine had its root in the old Indian conception of faith.

In p. 133 it will be very interesting if all the accounts mentioned in Leffman's *Lalitavistara*, Ch. 16 and in the *Mahāvastu* II, p. 118 are compared and contrasted with events mentioned in the book under review. Regarding sage *Ārāda Kālāma*, Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 118; *Lalitavistara* (Leffman), 16 Chap., p. 238; *Majjhima Nikaya*, Pt. I (PTS), p. 160.

There are some plates at the end and no index. In spite of all these defects the book is a valuable addition to the Buddhist literature.

B. C. LAW.

CALCUTTA 1964. A SOCIAL SURVEY: By Nirmal Kumar Bose. Lalwani Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, pp. 328. Price Rs. 63/-.

This study of some socio-anthropological aspects of urbanization in Calcutta is based on the findings of a survey conducted

in 1962 by the Anthropological Society of India under the guidance and supervision of Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose who was then Director of the ASI. The city of Calcutta has had a record of growth of about 200 years and has, like the other big cities of India, in its process of expansion drawn to itself the people of the neighbouring regions as well as from the distant parts of the country—from Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and South India. Apart from these, quite a good proportion of the population of Calcutta is of other nationalities—European, English and American. The purpose of the present study is to investigate and examine the extent to which the living together of people from various parts of India for about two centuries in a cosmopolitan city has led to changes in their culture, manners, and customs and resulted in their social integration.

The investigation covered 65 out of 80 wards of the corporation about which details were available in the municipal office. The findings relate to (1) changes in land use—i.e., shifts in the use of particular areas for purposes like commerce, industry, retail business, recreation, religion, administration and education, (2) shifts in the concentration of different groups of people based on differences in languages, communities etc., in particular localities of the city and also changes in their occupations and main sources of income and (3) the progress or decay (as in a few cases) of voluntary institutions—religious, educational, social, and cultural and the extent to which such organisations have helped or hindered the coming together of the different groups of people in the city. The details of the information gathered by the investigators are presented in a table containing comparative figures for the years 1911 and 1961 which help in an understanding of the trends during a period of about half a century. Details regarding land use are given in the neatly prepared ward maps which take up 240 pages or three fourth of the book.

It is, however, disappointing to note that there has not been much fusing or integration of the different communities of people in the city, though there has been some "overlapping" in some sections, on the whole, "the various communities in the city live in separate quarters, practise roughly different professions and also have separate types of social institutions". The author feels that this lack of integration is on account of a number of

causes, like the failure of employment opportunities to increase in proportion to the increase in population and the consequent keen competition and rivalry, the existence of caste feelings and prejudices and also language differences. This seems plausible and would possibly explain similar circumstances in the other cities of India. It would therefore appear that urbanisation in the country has not contributed to the much-needed social awakening among the people—an important precondition for self-sustained economic growth.

A claim is made on the dust cover of the book that this is a pioneering work in the field of urban studies and new methods have been employed in describing the changes in the use of land in the city. Undoubtedly, the method of enquiry is scientific and would serve as a model for similar studies; also the book contains quite a good amount of useful and interesting information. But the narrative part of the report is not only meagre but also fails to provide any real insight into the social and economic implications of the changes that have come over the life of the people. A few broad hints are given but for the major part, the reader is left to himself and has to find out what best he can from the tables and maps.

D. BRIGHT SINGH.

THE MUGHAL EMPEROR HUMAYUN: By Rama Shankar Avasthy, History Department, University of Allahabad, pp. 491 + 16 + XLIX + X, 1967. Price Rs. 30/-.

This is a doctoral thesis of the late Dr. R. S. Avasthy, a research scholar of the University of Allahabad, who fell victim to disease soon after getting his D.Phil degree and appointment as a lecturer in History. The thesis has now been published by the University, the University Grants Commission generously bearing most of the cost of its publication. It is an excellent work, based on original contemporary sources in Persian and Sanskrit. The author also made use of archaeological and numismatic sources, besides utilising modern works. The book is divided into 18 chapters to which are added, a list of authorities, six appendices, chronology of the reign and a descriptive and helpful Index. We

have atleast three other works on Humayun, which were written by scholars of repute, such as, Erskine, S. K. Banerji and Ishwari Prasad. Nevertheless the present work by Dr. Avasthy, although it was written about 1940, can well compare with them. Ram Shankar Avasthy was a deep scholar and he tried his best to examine every fact and incident connected with his thesis on the basis of contemporary evidence and, where it was not possible, he made use of evidence furnished by later works, published and unpublished. He tried to present not only his conclusions, but also his reasons for arriving at them. Thus he played the role of a lawyer as well as of a judge. The result was that his thesis became inordinately voluminous and the foot-notes, occupying a very large space, overshadowed the main body of the work. And the reader is obliged to face the inconvenience of taking his eye off at the end of almost every two or three sentences. It would have been better if the foot-notes had been lumped together in one place at the end of each paragraph. It may also be said that some of the author's arguments do not carry conviction and certain others are superfluous. In spite of these obvious draw-backs and the fact that the thesis is being published after about 25 years of its completion, it has not lost its freshness and value on account of the minute details and laborious scholarship displayed by the late Dr. Avasthy. The University of Allahabad deserves commendation for saving this scholarly work from oblivion and perpetuating the well-deserved memory of a young scholar whose promising life was unfortunately cut short by the cruel hand of death.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

PANJAB UNDER THE GREAT MUGHALS (1526-1707): By Bakhshish Singh Nijjar. Thacker and Co., Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 24/-

Panjab had always remained the sword-arm of India politically and it possessed strategic importance from the view-point of security. Unlike Babur, Humayun had not realised its importance but Akbar even made Lahore his capital during 1585-98. Panjab was under capable generals during the reign of Jahangir. Aurangzeb however paid little attention to this area.

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This book written by Mr. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar has been approved for the Ph.D. degree by the Panjab University, Chandigarh. It is a comprehensive study of the fortunes of the Panjab under the Imperial Mughals. It is based on a study of Persian texts either printed or in manuscript form, Panjab manuscripts and publications and Urdu publications from which much useful material has been collected. The book is divided into fourteen chapters. The author traces, in the earlier chapters, the fortunes of the Panjab under the six Imperial Mughals as well as their relations with the Sikhs. Five later chapters dealing with Administration; Religious Policy; Social, Cultural and Economic Development; Education and Literature and Art and Architecture constitute the best part of the book summarising the cultural contribution of the Panjab under the Mughals. There are three well-drawn maps. The author has taken pains to deal with every aspect of life in the Panjab during an important period in Indian History.

P. K. K. MENON.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA, Vol. I, (Second Edn.): By Nripendrakumar Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/A. Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12. Pages XIII + 278 with Bibliography and Index. Price Rs. 25.

This book presents a systematic and comprehensive history of caste and caste rules in India, tracing the successive stages of their development from the Vedic age to B.C. 300. According to the author the caste rules and their main features assumed a definite shape by about 300 B.C. almost uninfluenced either by the Buddhistic canons or by the foreign influences of the Mauryan and post Mauryan period.

All aspects of the system, from the traditional origin of Varna and Jati, to the colour question, its tribal basis, the law of Karma, the four-fold division of society, the professional classes, food, drink, marriage rules, widow re-marriage, pretensions and prerogatives, inter-caste marriage, the rise of the fifth varna and meat-eating habits and observances among the members of the different castes have all been closely studied in the light of the

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Vedas, the Brahmanas and Sutras. More important still is the evolution of the caste divisions as days advanced till they reached a stage of rigidity as is evidenced in Apastamba's sutras. The six chapters in the book deal exhaustively with such questions as place of women, their legal rights and Niyoga, Polyandrous and polygamic customs and the clash of interest on account of the contact with Dasas and Nishadas. Most of these sources are from Brahminical authors, and Mr. Dutt quotes copiously from Non-brahminical sources also like the Jatakas and greek accounts in the first 2 sections (A and B) of the last chapter. A special supplement (chap. VI C) has been added about the widow or *Vidhava*, the origin of the word in several languages, as opposed to *Sadhava*, (not in common use) though in Vedic period *Avidhava* was in use.

The merit of the book lies in the exhaustive details about the topics dealt with and in the variety of sources from which the material has been drawn. The section on the re-marriage of widows under certain conditions is specially significant. The revised edition is a definite improvement on the first.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN MUGHAL INDIA: By Dr. Satya Prakash Sangar. Sterling Publishers (Pvt.) Ltd. Mori Gate, Delhi, 1967. Pp. 249+XII. Price Rs. 25/-.

'*The Crime and Punishment in Mughal India*,' is substantially a Ph.D. thesis approved by the University of Poona in 1957. It is divided into nine chapters, and also contains a bibliography and an index. The first chapter is on Muslim Law. It discusses the sources of Muslim law, Islamic jurisprudence, its various sections, and the jurisprudence followed by the Mughals. The second chapter is entitled administration of justice in Mughal India. Naturally it describes the various types of courts, their jurisdictions and the mode of trial of cases and punishments inflicted under the law. The third chapter is on theft and high-way robbery. It begins with a descriptive account of law and order situation in the country on the eve of the Mughal age and gives a sketch of the character of the robber-tribes and the localities

inhabited by them. Dr. Sangar gives some of the cases which were decided by the emperor and other agencies and gives the punishments meted out to the culprits in specific cases. The fourth chapter is on murder. The Muslim law did not look upon murder as a crime against the state. It was a crime against individuals and therefore, compensation or blood money was given to the next of kin or the person murdered. Another form of punishment was retaliation on the spot. Dr. Sangar gives details of various kinds of murder and punishments prescribed by the law. In a very interesting and important chapter, Dr. Sangar gives an account of official corruption. Bribery was as common during the Mughal rule as it is today, but there was an elaborate machinery to prevent bribery and corruption, and news-writers were particularly instructed to keep the emperor and high officials informed of cases of corruption. In spite of all this, there did occur cases of even high officials accepting bribe. Sometimes even the emperor was bribed by highly placed men to secure their continuance in office. Rich presents were offered to the emperor, empresses and princes. There are many cases on record, of rich presents offered to Nur Jahan. Nur Jahan's father, Itmad-ud-daulah, was notorious for taking bribes. Another besetting sin was embezzlement by high and low officers of which numerous examples are given by the learned author. We have an equally interesting chapter on the abuse of authority by public servants of which a graphic account is found in the pages of this thesis. We have also a picture of the grievances of ryots and complaints against the oppressions of tax collectors and faujdars. It seems that the merchants were particularly harassed. The emperors, however, tried to remove the grievances of the people and to punish the offending officers. A fairly elaborate account is given of religious crimes, which included drinking and sale of liquor, gambling, prostitution, blasphemy, heresy, slaughter of animals, conversion from Islam, public worship in Hindu temples, Sati, forbidden Hindu practices and fallacious writings. The author devotes eight pages to an account of sexual crimes and the punishment meted out to the offenders. The last chapter deals with offences against the safety of the state, in which are included the crime of collusion with the enemy, desertion by troops or their flight from the battle-field, neglect of duty, criticism of government by public servants, infringement of royal prerogatives, breach of court etiquette etc.

The book is based on a critical and careful study of unpublished sources in Persian, Hindi and English. The most important sources utilised, are many volumes of the *Akhhārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mūllah* and '*Arāiz-o-Farāmin*' which were not used on such a large scale by any previous writer of this subject. In short, this book is a systematic and comprehensive account of criminal law and procedure during the Mughal age. It is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the administration of justice under the great Mughals.

There are, however, a few flaws in the plan, and in the execution of the book which the author will do well to remove in the next edition. Some of these are:

1. Price's edition of Jahangir's Memoirs should not have been depended upon.
2. The law and order situation in Mughal India (pp 41-50) should have been prefaced to the measures taken in each reign to improve the situation and not given in one place as the author has done.
3. Many of those called by the author 'robbers' were really rebels against the Government. It was the Mughal way of describing the rebels.
4. The places mentioned in the book should have been identified and their location given.
5. Spellings of proper and place names should have been modernised.
6. The quotations from the travellers' account should have been explained in foot-notes, wherever necessary in the interest of clarity.
7. A glossary of obscure terms should have been given.
8. The author does not mention the full titles of books, their authors' names, editions of the volume used, and date and place of publication.
9. Fauzdar should be *faujdar*, Bakshi should be *bakhshi* and Baklāna should be Baglāna.

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CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA — 1600-1950: By M. V. Pylee. Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay, (1967), pp. VIII + 175. Price Rs. 7-50.

This handy volume which is intended by its author, M. V. Pylee, to serve as a companion volume to his earlier book *India's Constitution and Constitutional Government in India* deals with the constitutional history of India from 1600 to 1950 without attempting at elaborate details. Though the subject is not new and there are a number of publications on it the author has given in the book a succinct account of the constitutional history of India from the foundation of the English East India Company in 1600 upto 1950. The survey of the constitutional development in India during and after the war ending with the passing of the Independence Act in 1947 is objective and lucid, as also the account of the 'Home' Government of Indian affairs and the relation of the Crown and the Indian States. The last chapter contains a good description of the salient features of the Indian constitution. The book is a useful publication.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION: By Sri Ram Chandra Jain. Institute of Bharatological Research, Sriganaganagar. PP. 197 + VII, 1967. Price Rs. 12/-.

'The Great Revolution' is a scholarly work, though not one of original investigation or research. It describes the march of civilisation during a period of nearly 6000 years and prescribes a remedy for its present-day ills. No intensive research is possible on such an extensive subject by an individual even though he might dedicate his whole life to it. Nevertheless, the author has made a deep and critical study of the subject and fearlessly expressed his conclusions on the knotty problems connected with it.

Sri Jain traces the history of human civilisation from about 4000 B.C. to the present day. He is of opinion that the pre-Aryan civilisation which he has described as *Shramanic* was more or less an ideal one. In the Shramanic society, which was based on non-violence, equality and freedom, the system of government was republican and there were the institutions of family and

private property and individual liberty. This highly evolved society was disrupted and destroyed by the Aryan onslaught. The Aryan society was a tribal collectivist organisation and was based on violence and exploitation. Sri Jain blames the Aryans for the beginning of the era of degradation and exploitation of humanity. He is of opinion that whereas sovereignty over the means of production lay with the people during pre-Aryan times, the process was reversed under the Aryans whose rulers and leaders usurped the means of production within their territories. This gave rise to capitalism. Next the learned author examines the nature of communism, especially Marxist Economism, Morganatic Sociology, and Engelic Philosophy. He points out the flaws in the premises and conclusions of Marxist communism. At the same time he analyses capitalism with equal insight. A full chapter is devoted to Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence and his brand of socialism which he describes as Gandhian pragmatism. He examines all the facets of Mahatma Gandhi's programme and philosophy and his ideas about Truth, God, non-violence, spirit and matter, and his religion of renunciation. He is very critical of Gandhi's lack of knowledge of original religious literature and history and of his tolerance of what he calls Brahmanic materialism. According to our author "Brahmanism believes in violence and exploitation," and although Hinduism contains some Shramanic elements of non-violence and truth, its fundamental basis is materialism. "This satanic materialism," says Sri Jain, "has turned Gandhiji's spiritualism into pseudo-spiritualism or materio-spiritualism. It was God of materialism that had blurred his vision." Sri Jain has also to say a good deal about the unfeasibility of Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship of the rich for the poor. He also discusses Vinobaji's Bhudan movement in a separate chapter. He points out the elements of similarity and dis-similarity between Marxism and Gandhism, and he comes to the conclusion that they are not contradictory to each other. Both Marx and Gandhi are, according to Sri Jain, confused dualists. The dis-similarities between the two are only superficial. The last chapter is a discussion on Scientific Shramanism, which is Sri Jain's panacea for the ills from which humanity suffers today. In short, he advocates the re-establishment of the principles on which the Shramanic society of pre-Aryan days was based, although he does not say so in these words. He lays down ideological tenets, economic tenets, social tenets, and political

tenets for the future Shramanic society. He pleads for the integration of human society. He also prescribes what he calls 'self-struggle', in place of class-struggle and satyagraha, as the weapon with which to fight for the future coming great revolution.

Sri Jain is no doubt a deep scholar and wields a strong pen. But his interpretations of pre-Aryan civilisation and culture do not find favour with scholars. So is the case with his idealistic picture of the pre-Aryan society. His language is at places faulty, and his book has many mistakes of punctuation and grammar. There are numerous printing errors which, it is hoped, will be corrected in the next edition.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

COINS OF THE PANDYAS: by C. H. Biddulph, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 11; published by the Numismatic Society of India; 1966, pp. 71 + pl. VI. Price Rs. 10/-.

This monograph under review is a welcome attempt on one of the less explored avenues in Indian numismatics. The Pāṇḍyas of the extreme South played a notable part in the political and cultural history of South India, and like many others have left a wealth of archaeological material in the shape of monuments, epigraphs and coins throwing light on their history and institutions. But this material has hitherto not been fully and advantageously utilised on account of difficulties in their interpretation. As a result of this, the Pāṇḍyan history we know of is full of gaps and riddles which have puzzled researchers. It is not an exaggeration to say that without a settled account of Pāṇḍya genealogy and chronology no writing of South Indian History can be said to be complete.

It is on that background that a numismatist has to study the Pāṇḍyan coins. In the case of many dynasties numismatics has not only supplemented or confirmed the other evidences relating to them but also established fresh facts and details which are otherwise unknown. In the present state of our knowledge this cannot be said of the Pāṇḍyan coins though their historical usefulness cannot be underestimated. The book under review by C. H.

Biddulph places before scholars a representative selection of Pāṇḍyan issues on the background of a short historical introduction. For the introductory part of the book the author leans heavily on pioneers in the field whose views are not often unreservedly accepted in the light of recent researches. The book mentions all the known types of the Pāṇḍyan coins including the rectangular issues in copper with invariably an elephant on one side and a crude fish symbol on the other. The author also enumerates many later coins bearing one or other of the following legends: Kōḍaṇḍarāman, Kaliyugarāman, Jegavīraṇ, Bhūtala-vīraṇ, Cherakularāman, Chōṇāḍukonḍān, Avanipēndiran, Ellāntalaiyānān, Kachchivaḷaṅgumperumāl, Vīrapāṇḍiyan, Kulaśēkharaṇ, Sundarapāṇḍiyan, Vemapērumāl, Samarakōlāhalan, Kōṇērīrāyan, Bhuvanaikavīraṇ etc. In the medieval Pāṇḍyan genealogy many rulers with the names Vīra Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara with the prefixes Jaṭāvarman and Māravarmān are noticed and their precise identification and chronological assignment which is vital for attributing the above-mentioned coins are at present difficult.

The author has not used for his study the inscriptional material regarding Pāṇḍyan coins which are essential for understanding their denominations and purchasing power during successive centuries. The book carries six useful plates illustrating all the important known types. This is indeed a good addition to the literature on South Indian numismatics.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

FATHULLAH SHIRAZI, A SIXTEENTH CENTURY INDIAN SCIENTIST: By M. A. Alvi and A. Rahman; Monograph Series No. 2. Published by the National Institute of Sciences of India, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi-1 under the auspices of National Commission for the compilation of History of Sciences of India, 1968. Pages 37. Price inland Rs. 2.50; foreign \$.33, £ 0-2-9d.

The age of Emperor Akbar witnessed a renaissance in thinking and activity. Fathullah Shirazi was a typical product of the birth of this new wave. Born brought up and educated at Shiraz

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in Persia, under the inspiration of able teachers of religion, logic, medicine and mathematics, Fathulla migrated to India and served under Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur. (1558-1580). In 1583, in response to a call from Emperor Akbar, he joined the Moghul Court at Agra. He was duly honoured by the Emperor who conferred on him high offices of state. When he died in 1588 at Kashmir, the Emperor mourned over his death.

Fathullah's mind worked far in advance of his period. His scientific talents unfolded themselves in the inventions he made. The yarghu he got ready was a machine for cleaning gun barrels. The wagon mill ground all sorts of grains when the carriage was travelling. The multi-barrelled gun contained 17 barrels moving on wheels. Under instructions from Akbar, Fathullah finalised the Ilahi calendar based on solar astronomical tables. It is said that he had also left some literary works. About the life and activities of Fathullah sketchy references are found in *Ain-I-Akbari* and *Akbar-Namah*. But the major part of his career is wrapped in mystery. Neither was there a genius to take up the thread, as he left it, and continue the work, as a follow-up activity with the result that his inventions are not a positive contribution to the world of literature and science. If more evidences are forthcoming to throw greater light on the entire contribution of Fathullah to the world of technical knowledge and literary thinking, the authors will feel amply compensated for the initiative they have taken to present the genius of Fathullah for the first time.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

MATERIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS IN INDIAN HISTORY: By Dr. Tara Chand, University of Allahabad. Pp. 97, 1966. Price Rs. 6.50 P.

This booklet consists of three Tagore Memorial Lectures delivered by Dr. Tara Chand at the University of Allahabad on 25th, 26th and 27th of February, 1965. It has a Foreword by Sri R. K. Nehru, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, and an Introduction by Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar, Head of the History Department.

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The first lecture is entitled, 'India in Ancient Times,' and covers 42 pages of the book. It is a bird's eye-view of the condition of the country from the earliest times to the advent of the Arabs and the Turks. The learned lecturer is of the opinion that the ancient Hindus did not cultivate the art of writing history, because of "the transitoriness of the states during the formative period of literature." Almost similar conditions prevailed in other countries in that age, and yet many of these countries of Europe and Asia not only developed the historical sense but also left behind a good deal of historical literature. Dr. Tara Chand gives a depressing picture of the growth of the Indian society and culture. It is a picture of intellectual stagnation, static economy and a rigid social system. He refers to an oft-quoted passage of Al Beruni in support of his theory, which ill accords with the vigorous intellectual and social life generated by the several large universities like Takshshila, Nalanda and Vikramsila with their many thousands of teachers and students belonging to the various parts of the country and quite a large number hailing from foreign lands for availing themselves of higher education the like of which was not known in their home-lands.

The second lecture is on India in the middle ages. In this he discusses the nature and value of the historical chronicles of the Sultanate period. He is of opinion that there was little religious intolerance on the part of the sultans. The Arab and Turkish invasions too were motivated by political and economic considerations, and *not at all* by religious zeal. Even Mahmud of Ghazni's aims, he says, were not the propagation of Islam or the exaltation of its glory. They were purely territorial aggrandisement and plunder. Religious intolerance was confined, according to the learned author, to the Ulama and was embodied in the chronicles that they wrote. He certainly knows that there is other contemporary Persian literature, besides the chronicles written by the Ulama, and it too provides over-whelming evidence of Muslim intolerance during that age. Curiously enough Dr. Tara Chand does not take notice of this type of literature and absolutely ignores the autobiography of Firoz Tughlaq which is one long tale of *jiḥād* against Hinduism and exaltation of Islam. The learned lecturer says not a word about the religious fanaticism of Aurangzeb. Dr. Tara Chand is conscious of the need in historical research

of "academic rectitude," but he has really made what he calls the "civic duty" his guiding principle in his interpretation of our medieval history.

The third lecture is on 'India in the Modern Age.' The main theme of this lecture is two-fold. In the first instance, it seeks to examine those elements of British character which enabled Clive and the succeeding English generals and statesmen as well as soldiers to get the better of Indian rulers and people. Secondly, it discusses the various aspects of Western impact on Indian life and culture. In discussing the Western impact the learned lecturer explains the reactions of our leaders to the new ideology which made the dawn of a new age possible. This lecture ends on a hopeful note. It is an impassioned plea that as the result of a new vision of life, the future Indian will shake off all one-sidedness and will be "the integrated man, the free man, the universal man, the man whose stream of consciousness (*mana*) will flow between the unmoving banks of self-consciousness (*atman*) through its length to the ocean of life, universal and eternal." It is then that India will "climb heights of unforeseen possibilities and unlimited promise."

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

FIROZ TUGHLUQ: By R. C. Jauhri, Shiva Lal Agarwala and Company, Agra, 1968; 231 pp.; Rs. 15.

We are grateful to Dr. Jauhri for having brought out a comprehensive study of the reign of Firōz Tughluq. Not that the reign had been neglected so far, as Dr. Mahdi Husain had followed up his "Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq" by his larger work on the Tughluq dynasty, which naturally includes a fairly close study of Firōz's reign. Moreover, as Dr. Jauhri says in his Preface, "a monograph on this important reign" has also been published, but he does not name the author, nor does it appear in the useful bibliography which is appended to the book. He does not mention whether J. M. Banerji's Ph.D. thesis has been published or not, and the only information we get about it is that he "does not seem to have read the sources in original Persian".

The book under review is divided into eleven chapters, two appendices, a bibliography and an index. Of the chapters six (including the last two) deal mostly with the political and military aspects of the region, while the others deal with Firoz's Revenue and Agrarian Policy, Administration, Religious Policy, Learning and Architecture. As the blurb says, the book is the result of six years of study, and the author "has made a critical study of available original sources, published and unpublished, in Arabic and Persian ... besides sources in Hindi and Sanskrit." The result is that there is hardly an aspect of the reign which has been left out.

It is well that diacritical marks have been "avoided throughout", but it is unfortunate that no uniformity has been kept in the transliteration of names. Thus the name of the dynasty has been variously spelt as Tughluq, Tughlaq and Tughluq, Malcha and Malja are both indicated as the locus of a dam on the same page, Muslim Law is called Shara, Shari'ah and Sharia at random, and the name of a historical city in Uttar Pradesh is spelt both as Kanauj and Qannauj. These and many other discrepancies mar the text. Although the learned author is well versed in Persian, mistakes such as "Haq-i-sharb", "Bar-i-aim", "tirkash", "dera" (for durra), "khams" (for *khum*s), and "Ummayyad" dynasty, abound. Even the spelling of comparatively common English words, such as "celibacy" and "quadruped" are wrongly indicated.

Dr. Jauhri has dealt with the financial and agrarian reforms of the Sultan in a fairly comprehensive manner. He says that Firoz was a great builder, and he constructed "towns, forts, palaces, mosques, colleges, hospitals" and many other useful edifices, which still show "the effective combination ... of Hindu columns and the Muslim arch." He voices the opinion of other modern writers when he says that the Sultan "took keen interest in excavating canals ... and he has been called the Father of Indian Irrigation". The result of agrarian reforms and the abolition of illegal taxation led to the prosperity of the people. Agriculture thrived and trade progressed leading to the betterment of the common man.

The learned author has been anachronistic and perhaps unjust in saying that "Firoz was a prototype of Aurangzeb". No

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greater contrast is possible between two rulers as between Firoz and Aurangzeb. Apart from the vast difference in time and environments of the two, the nature of one was in direct contrast to that of the other. Firoz at first refused to succeed his father's cousin, and it was only when "all ranks, ulema, shaikhs, maliks, amirs, Musalmans and Hindus..." chose him as King that he consented to ascend the throne. However strict a Muslim Aurangzeb became towards the end of his long life, his ambition knew no bounds, and for the sake of ruling the Empire, he caused the death of two of his brothers, the exile of the third, and the close confinement of his aged father for eight long years. In the fourteenth century, 'theocracy', whether of the Christian or the Muslim pattern, was the order of the day the world over, and at least the Hindu State was always a very close oligarchy. Even in Europe it was still centuries before the infliction of the great "Wars of Religion". The immorality of Mubārak Shah K̲hiljī, the licentious atmosphere of the Court of Nāṣiru'd-dīn K̲husro and the wanton acts of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and his neo-aristocrats, were bound to react on the simple mind of the son of Sipahsālār Rajab. It must, however, be said that Fīrōz was not able to look sufficiently ahead, and he thus created an unfortunate atmosphere which led to the destruction of the regime after him.

It is to be regretted that the learned author has committed a series of mistakes while dealing with the religious policy of the Sultan. It is incorrect to say that the *jiziah* "is paid by the *zimmis* as a compensation for being spared from death". In fact it was not a poll-tax at all. As Dr. Ishwara Topa says in his "book, 'Politics in pre-Mughal Times'", it was primarily a collective tribute levied on conquered lands, and was, as Caetani says in his almost classical book, "Annali del Islam", its connotation as a poll-tax was a later invention. In Dr. Jauhri's opinion "the inclusion of *Jiziah* and *Kharaj* in the same category by Barani is illogical"; but he forgets that in the early history of Islam there was no marked difference between the two and both were paid as a tribute by the communities which submitted to the Islamic State. It may be correct to attribute the imposition of certain pseudo-Islamic taxes to Fīrōz, but it is not correct to say that their imposition accorded entirely with the dictates of Divine Law. Dr. Jauhri highlights Fīrōz's expeditions against the "Hindu kingdoms of Orissa and Nagarkot" momentarily forgetting that he had "an

unfulfilled dream of the recovery of (Bahmani) Deccan", and that he led military campaigns in Sindh and Bengal both of which were under Muslim rule.

It is rather strange that the book does not contain a chapter on the evaluation of authorities on which the author relies. Again, with differing spellings of many proper nouns and a number of other words the Index is also not too helpful.

H. K. SHERWANI

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The Reign of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh

Accession: 3.1.1083/21.4.1672

Deposition: 20.11.1098/17.9.1687

BY

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Abu'l-Hasan's Accession

Possibly no one was more surprised than Abu'l-Hasan, a recluse on the *Khanqāh* of Shāh Rājū just outside the Fath Darwāzā of Haidarabad, that he should be almost dragged from his preceptor, brought to the royal palace, bathed and clothed in royal robes and married to the third daughter of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh, who came to be called Badshāh Bibī after the accession of her husband to the throne.

'Abdu'llāh had no male issue but was blessed with three daughters.¹ The eldest daughter surnamed *Barī Ṣāhibnī* or the "Great Lady", was married to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān according to one of the conditions of the fateful treaty of 1656.² It was then decided that as the king had no male heirs, the throne of Tilang-Andhra should go to Muhammad Sulṭān. But in the War of Mughal Succession which followed the imprisonment of Shah Jahan by Aurangzēb, Muhammad Sulṭān was lured to take sides with Shah Jahan's second son Shāh Shujā, was arrested and imprisoned with his wife, and he died while in prison on 7-10-1088/23-11-1677.³ The second daughter, Faṭimā Khānām,

1. Not 'four' as in *Thèvenot*. All our authorities are unanimous that 'Abdu'l-lāh had only three daughters.

2. *Thèvenot* and other European travellers of the period did not have recourse to the royal palace, and were not always accurate in their description of the goings-on within. Thus *Thèvenot* wrongly says that the eldest daughter was married to the "Shaikh of Mecca." Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān's wife is called *Barī Ṣāhibnī* in *M.L.*, p. 405.

3. *M.A.*, 145.

was married to Mirza Nizāu'd-dīn Aḥmad, son of Shaikh Ma'sūm or Mecca, who died in prison on 26-2-1085/22-5-1674. Fāṭima Khānam's unfinished tomb is next to her husband's in the royal metropolis of Golkonda, and her tomb-stone gives the date of her death as 20-10-1087/10-12-1676.⁴

The question of the marriage of the third daughter, who eventually became Badshāh Bibi, was more complicated. Like Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, another adventurer, Syed Sulṭān Najafi came from Arabia, and like him became a favourite of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh who wanted to marry his third daughter to him. But a small quarrel between Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and Syed Sulṭān regarding the antecedents of the former led to a wide rift between the two, resulting in the threatened boycott of the approaching marriage by Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and his wife and even a threat that if the marriage were to take place he would go over to the Mughal Emperor's camp.⁵ 'Abdu'l-lah was greatly perturbed as all arrangements had already been made for the marriage, while it was impossible for him to face such a big rift in his family. When all was ready and things were taking shape, the king, on the advice of some of the nobles and courtiers called Abu'l-Ḥasan from his place of retirement at Shāh Rājū's *Khānqāh*. He was given a bath, clothed in marital robes and married to the third princess.⁶

4. See *Landmarks*, pp. 180-181; 183-184. Bilgrami has some doubt whether the lady was Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's wife, but there should really be no doubt, as (1) 'Abdu'l-lah had only three daughters; (2) One of them was married to Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad (3) Fāṭima Khānam's name is inscribed on the tombstone and she is definitely indicated as 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's daughter; and (4) her tomb and that of Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad are in the same compound close to each other. Perhaps the reason why the wife was not interred in her husband's mausoleum was that Abu'l-Ḥasan had a personal animosity against Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and wanted to belittle the relationship of his sister-in-law, Fāṭima Khānam with him. For the date of Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's death see *Landmarks*, p. 181.

5. M.L., 405. The Imperial newsletter from Haiderabad dated 29-10-1072/7-6-1662 mentions that "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" had called Syed Sulṭān, son of Syed Durrāj Najafi for the purpose of marrying his daughter to him, and the date of the marriage was fixed for 25-12-1072/1-8-1662. See *Selected Waqā'i of the Deccan*, Hyderabad, Central Records Office, 1953, p. 28 (9).

6. *Ibid.*, 407. There are many versions regarding the antecedents of Abu'l-Ḥasan and his connections, and they have been mentioned without

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When 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh was on his death-bed, there were only two possible candidates for the throne, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and Abu'l-Ḥasan. Nizāmu'd-dīn had been the right hand man of the Sultān for many years. He was consulted by him practically in all matters of state. He was so sure of his succession that he began to disdain the power of the nobles, particularly nobles of influence like Syed Muẓaffar and Mūsā Khān Khān-i Khānān, and became haughty and rude. On the other hand Abu'l-Ḥasan who had been living the life of an ascetic⁷ and who had no pretensions worth the name, was meek and good to those with whom he came in contact. As Syed Muẓaffar was not in the good looks of Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad he was naturally inclined towards Abu'l-Ḥasan, and when 'Abdu'l-lāh's last moments arrived Syed Muẓaffar rode post-haste to Shāh Rājū's^{7a} Khanqāh, took Abu'l-Ḥasan to the

much critical appraisal by A. M. Siddiqui in his *History of Golconda*, pp. 215-228. He has not left out even the oral tradition current at Siddipēt (now headquarters of a taluqa in Mēdak district, Andhra Pradesh, 18°6' N. 78°61' E.), that Abu'l-Ḥasan belonged to a weaver's family who was a protégé of the brothers Madanna and Akkanna. After relating the theory of Abu'l-Ḥasan's royal relationship as indicated by European travellers, he passes on to Ghulām Ḥusain Jauhar's *Māhnāmā* (Salar Jung, MSS., Tarikh, 354, pp. 315-316) which was completed as late as 1229/1814. Here it is asserted on the authority of Abu'l-Ḥasan's "own nephew", Abū Muḥammad, who had attained the age of 104, that Abu'l-Ḥasan was descended from Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-Mulk, "the son of Fathī Khān, a cousin of Sultān-Qulī Qutub Shāh"; and it is presumed that "he was undoubtedly a kinsman of the Qutubshahi dynasty". But the learned professor also asserts that Abu'l-Ḥasan was not recognised and respected "as a relative of the Qutub Shahi dynasty and no serious notice was taken of him as such". In fact whatever the traditions regarding his genealogical connections might be, he came like a *deus ex machina* to save the face of the dynasty, and incidentally to resuscitate it for another period of fourteen years.

7. Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, the right hand man of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh; for instances of his great influence see *Selected Waqā'i*, *op.cit.*, pp. 8, 10, 14 etc.

7a. Shāh Rājū: Abu'l-Ḥasan Qutb Shāh's spiritual guide for fourteen years, was the direct descendant of Ḥazrat Syed Muḥammad Ġesu Darāz of Gulbarga in the ninth degree. His name was Syed Razīyu'd-dīn Ḥusain but he is generally known as Shāh Rājū II as his own grand-father also has been known by this name. Shāh Rājū I was the brother of Ḥusain Shāh Walī, the architect of Ḥusain Sāgar and son-in-law of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. Shāh Rājū II's full biography will be found in 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpurī's *Tadhkirā-i Auliya-i Dakan* Vol. I. It is related that it was

palace, and as 'Abdu'l-lāh was breathing his last, proclaimed him king.⁸

Syed Muẓaffar, Mīr Jumlā

Syed Muẓaffar was the person who had brought Abu'l-Ḥasan to the throne, and it was quite natural that the new king reposed perfect confidence in him. He was made Mīr Jumlā of the kingdom and out of regard for his past loyalties the king practically resigned all power in his favour. He appointed Madanna Pandit, entitled Surya Prakāsa Rao,⁹ as his personal Secretary, and with him by his side, felt safe in asserting his authority even against the king. It is related that immediately after his accession to the throne Abu'l-Ḥasan made an inventory of the state treasury, and found that it consisted of four distinct departments: (i) money to be spent according to the dictates of God; (ii) advance pay of the troops; (iii) money for the king's comforts and his luxuries; and

through his spiritual powers that Abu'l-Ḥasan succeeded to the Quṭb Shāhī throne. When Shāh Rājū died he was buried a few furlongs beyond the now demolished Faṭḥ Darwāzā, and the grateful Abu'l-Ḥasan ordered the construction of a splendid mausoleum, one of the largest in the whole range of Quṭb Shāhī tombs. It has "extensive Dalans and colonades of ashlar masonry The Nastaliq inscriptions are carried on wooden panels fixed on four sides of the building"; *Landmarks*, p. 74-75, where there is the reproduction of Shāh Rājū's portrait, now in the British Museum; as an old man. It may be noted that practically all the inscriptions in the mausoleum are of the Shī'ah variety, representing the faith of either the deceased or of the king who ordered them to be executed. Complete genealogy of Shāh Rājū is given in the remarkable Telugu-Sanskrit work of his son Syed Akbar Shāh Ḥussaini, alias Baṛē Ṣāhib, the *Srīgāramañjari* edited by V. Raghavan, (published under the auspices of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1951) opposite p. 9 of the Director, Khwājā Muḥammad Aḥmad's Introduction; portrait of Shāh Rājū as a young man riding a horse, pl. C; reproduction of the frontage of his tomb, pl.B.

8. *M.L.*, III, 408, 409.

9. S. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar: "The Brahman Ministers of the last Qutub Shahi King", *Khazeena-i Tārikh*, Hyderabad, 1339 F.—1340 F., pp. 30-101; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar: "Abu'l-Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers, Madanna and Akkanna" *J.I.H.*, August 1931, pp. 92-142, with the Dutch prints of the portraits of the two ministers opp. p. 93. Dr. Aiyangar says on p. 95 of *J.I.H.* that Suryaprakasa Rao "must have been his name, Madanna being more or less a familiar name by which he must have been known among his own people". But then what about his two brothers Akkanna and Masanna?

(iv) reserves.¹⁰ Differences between Syed Muẓaffar and the king arose when Abu'l-Ḥasan began to squander money right and left and "to distribute wealth to his flatterers and supporters", Syed Muẓaffar wanted to put a stop to this and stressed the need to strengthen the army. The rift widened day after day as Muẓaffar became puffed up with power and pride and Abu'l-Ḥasan saw his authority waning day after day. The king now wished to get rid of Muẓaffar's virtual tutelage and looked round for the man who would help him.

It was Madanna, the personal secretary of Mīr Jumlā whom Abu'l-Ḥasan took into his confidence.¹¹ He came closer and closer to the king till Abu'l-Ḥasan confided to him his intention of removing Syed Muẓaffar from his path. At Madanna's instance he began to depute the best of his servants (who were perhaps Muẓaffar's creatures), to the outlying districts of the kingdom, and when the field was ready he quietly asked Mīr Jumlā to vacate his office while promising him that his jagirs would not be touched.¹² He then appointed Madanna as Mīr Jumlā without any danger of opposition.

Madanna, Mīr Jumlā

(i) Madanna's Home Policy

Thus Madanna, who is said to have started his career as a shroff (*Ṣarrāf*, or money changer) on ten rupees a month rose to

10. Ghulam Husain Khān: *Gulzār-i Aṣafīyah*, Haiderabad, 1260 H., p. 49.

11. Girdhārīlāl Aḥqar, says in his *Tārīkh-i Zafarah* p. 34 that Madanna was a pastmaster in cunning and one who did not desist from invoking even the devil's protection.

12. *M.L.*, p. 410. Evidently Syed Muẓaffar was imprisoned, perhaps at Madanna's instance, by the king. But when Aurangzeb knew about it he sent a farmān to Abu'l-Ḥasan to release him. He was honoured by *Khil'at* and his two sons were given the Mughal titles of *Aṣālat Khān* and *Najābat Khān*; while his daughter was married to a Mughal officer, *Kāmgār Khān* on 6-1-1096/3-12-1684; *M.A.*, 227. Syed Muẓaffar came back to Haiderabad, for he is buried in a simple mortar grave within the house of one *Fakhru'n-nisā Bēgum* near the quarter of the City called *Harī Bāoli*. It was this minister whose house near Mīr Jumlā tank was at one time visited by no less a person than 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh, in honour of which he presented to the king his vast house and garden which exists now only in the name of the quarter of the city called *Sultān Shāhī*; see *Landmarks*, pp. 77-78.

be the prime minister of a vast kingdom extending from the outskirts of Gulbarga and Bidar in the west and Visakhapatnam in the north-east to San Thome south of Madras, by sheer dint of ability.¹³ The first act of the new minister was to pay the *pēshkash* due to the Emperor. This entailed a farmān which indicated the position that Abu'l-Ḥasan occupied in the mind of Aurangzeb. The *pēshkash* was evidently accompanied by a "petition" informing the Emperor of the new king's accession to the throne. The farmān describes 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh as "the Quṭbu'l-Mulk", who had "placed the whole of his ancestral territory at the disposal of the Emperor" and had agreed that on his death "this would become a part of the Imperial Dominion". As the Emperor was "by nature kind and benevolent", he would now recognise Abu'l-Ḥasan as the ruler "provided he remained loyal and faithful to him", and should further swear on the Qur'ān that he would never budge from the path of loyalty and would never help the enemies of the Empire. He was also admonished to send 40 lakhs as *pēshkash* year after year to the Imperial treasury at Daulatābād.

Abu'l-Ḥasan's reply (*ta'ahhud*, Agreement) is couched in the most abject terms in which the Emperor is addressed as "the *Khalifah* of God, Shadow of Solomon, repository of the Mysteries of God" etc., but out of respect the name of the Emperor is not even mentioned. 'Abdu'l-lāh is referred to merely as Quṭbu'l-Mulk and himself as a disciple (of the Emperor). He promises that he would never deviate from obedience, and would not only pay off the arrears of the *pēshkash* but also remit it regularly in future. He would consider "Shiva", the object of the wrath of the "Abode of the refuge of Islam", as his enemy and would not receive his envoys. In the end he says that he has sworn on the Qur'ān the contents of the Deed of Agreement and invoked God and the Prophet as his witnesses. The Deed is dated 18.2.1086/4.5.1674.¹⁴

13. "10 guilders a month", Aiyangar, J.I.H., 1931, p. 93, quoting Havarts *Journal*. There is no doubt in regard to the ability of the two brothers Madanna and Akkanna whether the praise is downright as possessing "intelligence and wisdom in the field of action" (Basatin, 455), of hate as "tyrannous rulers, steeped in immorality" (for that also needs intelligence to sustain the process) as in M.L., III, 411.

14. Both the Imperial farmān and the Deed of Agreement in Girdhārīl Ahgar, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-38. The date of the Deed of Agreement is two years after the accession of the King on 21-4-1672. Although Madanna is men-

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Perhaps the first thing to which the new minister and the king paid their attention was the strengthening of the fortifications on the east coast. In spite of what Muḥammad Sāqī says (that Abu'l-Ḥasan never went beyond his capital¹⁵) we have ample evidence from English Factory records that Abu'l-Ḥasan visited Vijayawāda in order to inspect the great fortress of Konḍapalli lying 14 miles N.W., "to which they intended to move the treasures in case of need". He actually purchased an Englishman's house at Madapollam for his own use when occasion would arise.¹⁶ There

tioned as Prime Minister in a letter from the English Factors at Fort St. George dated 21-11-1674 (Aiyangar, *op.cit.*, p. 955) the date is not of the conferment of the premiership on Madanna but only Akkanna's accession to power and the change in the ministry are mentioned. It is therefore possible that Madanna became Prime Minister before 4-5-1674, the date of the Deed of Agreement. Strangely enough, *M.A.*, 143, says that it was only on 29-8-1086/8-11-1675 that it was brought to the notice of the Emperor that 'Abdu'l-lāh's nephew (*sic.*) and son-in-law had ascended the throne. The three dates, 4-5-1674, 21-11-1674 and 8-11-1675 seem to be at variance, and while the first two can be explained away it is difficult to be certain of the last date, especially when Muḥammad Sāqī Mu'tamad Khān, the author of *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī* was a contemporary of the events. On the other hand it is unthinkable that it should have taken two years for the news of the change of rulers at Golkonda-Haidarabad to have reached the Emperor.

It is incorrect that 'Abdu'l-lāh had agreed that on his death the whole of the Qutb Shāhī territory should form part of the Mughal Empire; what 'Abdu'l-lāh had to agree to was that on his death the eldest son of the Emperor, Muḥammad Sulṭān was to succeed him. It was, however, not to be, as the prince, interned by his father, died in imprisonment.

15. *M.A.*, p. 308.

16. See *Diaries and Consultations, Fort St. George*, Nov. 21, 1674; also *Diaries of Streyntsham Master*, 10th April, 1679, p. 96, referred to in *J.I.H.*, 1931, *op.cit.*, p. 123. Konḍāpalli, renamed Mustafānagar, one of the five "Northern Sarkars (Circars)" now a small town in Vijayawada taluqa of Krishna district., Andhra Pradesh; 16° 73' N., 80° 33' E. Some of its vast fortifications can be traced as far back as 1360, but the Bahmanīs, the Qutb Shāhīs and the Mughals made additions to them; even now a few fairly well-preserved buildings can be seen on the top of the great hill. It was here that Maḥmūd Gāwān was murdered on 5-4-1481, for which see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmani Wazīr*, pp. 169-172, and Sherwani, *Bahmanīs of the Dēccan*, pp. 335-36. It may be noted that, contrary to the scintillating progress of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh to the east coast in 1639 (for which see *Ḥādīqā*, pp. 229-56), Abu'l-Ḥasan's visits were so simple and businesslike that they were not even noted by the Mughal historians.

is no doubt that the forts on the western frontier were also strengthened, otherwise the Qutb Shāhī army could not have been able to face the Mughal army twice with such fortitude.¹⁷

It was perhaps in order to make his position, and the position of the kingdom as well, secure that Madanna contrived to man the government by his own kith and kin. He began by appointing his brother Akkanna Minister in charge of the army, and later Qutb Shāhī resident at Bijapur, from which post he was advanced to become the Governor of Karnatak. He occupied that position at least till 1682, the date when Podili Linganna, one of the nephews of the Prime Minister became the *tarafdar* of Poonamalle, in which district Fort St. George lay. He forced the English at Madras to pay heed to his demands, and the English had to appeal to the king himself against his orders.¹⁸ Another nephew, Yanganna was awarded the title of Rustam Rao and given high command in the army. A third nephew, Gopanna, who is known in history as Rāmādās, was made the revenue officer of Bhadrāchalam.¹⁹

Not content with posting his near relations to some of the important offices of the kingdom Madanna also advanced certain dis-

17. For the two battles, see later.

18. See Aiyangar, *op.cit.*, J.I.H., 1931, p. 123.

19. Rāmādās is perhaps better known than Madanna himself among the general public. As the revenue officer of Bhadrāchalam he was in charge of the collection of the revenue of the locality. Instead of remitting the amount collected to the capital, he quietly constructed a large temple sacred to Shrirāma at his headquarters. On the discovery of the embezzlement he was arrested, brought to Haidarabad and interned in a large compartment in Golkonda fort. This is still called *Ramādās Kū Koṭhā*, and is situated half-way up the staired road to Bālā-Hisār, just north of the northern bulge in the road. Aiyangar *op.cit.*, J.I.H. 1931, p. 128, says that "the story has it that a miraculous payment of the sum was made, and a receipt obtained by two men calling themselves Rama and Lakshmana, peons of the Bhadrachalam circar, who came overnight, paid the balance demanded in cash, and obtained a receipt then and there of the Padishah himself". Rāmādās was thereupon released from his confinement and he prevailed on the Sultān to endow the revenues of Bhadrāchalam, Palvanchā and Shankargiripatty for the expenses of the temple. This endowment remained intact right through the Asafjahi period. See Siddiqui, *op.cit.*, 316 n. 2 continued on p. 317, where a reference has been made to "Endowment Office Records". *Bhadrāchalam*; now in East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh; 17° 46' N., 80° 56' E.

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allusioned or ambitious officers of the state to high posts and titles, some for monetary gain. Thus Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was granted the title of *Khalīlū'l-lāh Khān* and made a *Sarkhēl* by the king on Madanna's recommendation for a consideration of 1,10,000 *hons*.²⁰ It is a sad commentary on the new administration that even the English agent at the capital, Venkaṭāpatī, himself a Brahman, remarks that the Golkonda officials being Brahmans, put forth their hands whenever something had to be done.²¹

If we study the published farmāns of Abu'l-Ḥasan Qutb Shāh, most of which deal with the period of Madanna's ascendancy, we would find the same line of conduct running through them.²² They range from 22-4-1673, i.e., just after Madanna's accession to power, to 22-7-1686, i.e., just before the fall of the ministers. In most of these there is a clear tendency towards some kind of favour to high Hindu officials and gentry, some of whom may well have been related to the minister. Most of the farmāns were concerned with the redress of grievances of one party against another. It is significant that with the passage of time they become bilingual, the Persian version being followed by the Telugu version which is mostly a faithful translation of the original Persian text. In the farmān dated 15-1-1084/22-4-1673 the village Kailapūr was granted to Chandū Chakras in perpetuity; in the farmān of 29-11-1084/25-2-1674 it is notified that Rāmraj Jangam is the only authorised *thalkarnī* of pargana Mācharla; in the farmān dated 2-9-1085/20-11-1674, issued to *kārkuns*, *dēsaīs* and *thalkarnīs* of Karanpudi which lay within the *muqasa* of "Rāja-i A'zam Trimbakji" but had been sequestered by a third person Rāmlingayya, it is ordered that it should be restored to the Raja and the recalcitrant brought

20. See M.A., p. 268, *Ḥadiqatu'l-Ālam*, I, 368. For the actual price of Ibrāhīm's promotion 1,10,000 pagodas, see Aiyangar, J.I.H., 1931, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 113, quoting letter dated March 3, 1631-82.

22. For these see *Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdaka Maṇḍala Quarterly* December 1932, pp. 68-73, where four of Abu'l-Ḥasan's farmāns have been reproduced in devanāgarī script, without much regard for the nuances of the Persian language, script and pronunciation; also, *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans*, Government of Andhra Pradesh publication, 1963, which contains six farmans of Abu'l-Ḥasan; nos. 9-14. There are also a number of Abu'l-Ḥasan's farmāns scattered here and there, such as in the Mackenzie collection, Local Records section.

to the capital in chains. There is another farmān favouring the same "Rāja-i A'zam" dated 17-1-1086/27-3-1675 regarding his rights of the produce in the same pargana. The farmān of 18-8-1092/23-7-1681 relating to the Ḥasanābād near Konḍavidu is addressed to Rāmraj Shankarayya, "ṭarafdar of Karnatak", and relates to the fixation of certain taxes and exemption from dues in respect of certain Hindu festivals. The officer to whom the farmān is addressed is Mādhava Bhānji, the *majmū'ādār*, and his name is preceded by a number of high sounding titles almost equal to those of the princes of the blood. There is another farmān also relating to the same Rāmraj Shankarayya, dated 12-3-1095/18-2-1684 under which the process of certain property on the banks of the Krishna, extending to one thousand acres, which had been endowed by him, should be spent on daily feeding, oil, etc. on the occasion of the periodical festivals of Malēshwaraswāmī. Like the preceding farmān this is also addressed to Mādhava Bhānji *majmū'ādār* of the *simt* of Khammam.²³

There are certain matters regarding these farmāns which are worth noting. As has been related above, many of them are bilingual. All of them relate to lands belonging to certain highly placed Hindu officers or jagirdars, and although some of them are sealed with the seal of "Mir Mishk, the slave of king 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh", they are also counter-sealed by Bansidhar who evidently occupied a high place in the official hierarchy. There is another interesting feature of some of these farmāns. As is well known the Shuhūr-San was used in official documents of the 'Adil Shahīs of Bijapur; but evidently they came to be used in Quṭb Shahi documents as well after the conquest of what was left of the

23. Farmān of 22-4-1673, *Farmāns and Sanads*, no. 9, p. 36; farmān of 25-2-1674, *ibid.*, no. 10, p. 37; farmān of 20-11-1674, *ibid.*, farmān of 27-3-1675, *ibid.*, no. 12, p. 38; farmān of 23-7-1681, *ibid.*, no. 13, p. 39 in which the titles of Rāmraj are *Mu'tamin'd-daulah*, *Maḥram-i Rāz-i Zill-i Ilāhī*, *Fazand-i Arjmand-i Shahinshāhī*; farmān of 18-2-1684, *ibid.*, no. 14, p. 40. In these farmāns there are certain technical terms which need corresponding modern terms for being understood: *thalkarni* = patwāri; *kārkun* = local registrar or clerk; *dēsāi* = accountant; *muqāsā* = land held on quit rent or small rent on condition of service; *simt* = division; *Majmū'ahdār* = Chief Accountant.

last dynasty of Vijayanagar and the concurrence of the frontiers of the two kingdoms in the Karnatak.²⁴

The farmāns included in the Bulletin of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly deal entirely with a certain Ghōrpādē family.²⁵ Two of them relate to the reign of 'Abdu'l-Iah Qutb Shah, while the remaining ones emanate from 'Abu'l-Hasan's secretariat. The latter are of importance as they mention some definite historical facts. Thus the farmān of 23-3-1084/28-6-1673 is issued to Mukandji Khōrpādē to the effect that as Mian Mishk had taken over the charge of Karnatak from Mūsā Khān, his autho-

24. For the *Shuhūr San* see M. Nāzim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, 1936, pp. 93-102. Nāzim says that the era began to be used in the Deccan with the establishment of independence of the region in the hijri year 743-44. The first day of the Shuhūr year was June 6. Upto 743-44 it was a lunar year, but the solar reckoning was tacked on to it, the next year becoming the solar Shuhūr San.

25. The Ghōrpādēs were evidently distributed over a very large territory. There were the Ghōrpādēs of Mudhol, (16° 20' N., 75° 20' E.) which was definitely under the protectorate of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, and is now in the Bijapur district, Mysore State. This was a part of the *samsthān* the history of which has been so ably described by D. V. Apte in his illustrated Marathi Volume, *Mudhol Samstānchya Gharānchya Itihās*, Poona, 1934. The position of the *samsthān* is clear from the map opposite p. 10 where it is shown to extend right into the eastern portion of the Krishna—Tungabhadra doāb. There is another Mudhōl in the westernmost corner of the 'Ādilābād district, Andhra Pradesh, (19° N., 77° 52' E.) and this was definitely controlled by the Qutb Shāhīs. Mudhōl village is barely a couple of miles from the present Andhra Pradesh—Maharāshtra, border and even now there is a considerable Marathi speaking population in the district. We find that in the farmāns of 13-11-1670 and 19-11-1670 (*Bulletin*, p. 67) issued when Syed Muzaffar was Prime Minister, reference is made to certain villages belonging to the Ghōrpādēs, lying near Muḥammadnagar (which was another name for Golkonda), while the farmān of 28-6-1673 admonishes a Ghōrpādē to be obedient to the new governor of Karnatak, Miān Mishk who had taken over from Mūsā Khān. Warangal is definitely mentioned in the farmāns of 19-11-1670 and 4-10-1674.

It appears that the clan was spread over vast territories extending from the Bijapur side of the Krishna to 'Ādilābād district in the north, the province of Karnatak in the south and certain lands round Golkonda in the centre. As the learned editor of the *Quarterly* told the present writer, it is quite possible that, different from the 'Ādil Shāhī *samsthān* of Mudhōl, the Ghōrpādēs of the Qutb Shāhī area were large-scale farmers and not owners of a centralised, consolidated estate.

rity should be recognized. The farmān of 12-8-1086/14-4-1675 is interesting as it is based on the petition of Nēkōjī and Mukandjī Ghōrpādē begging the Sultān to fight "the enemy" at Aloor Pālam-pet which was threatened as the enemy was barely one gāo or three miles from the fort. The last farmān in the series is dated 11-9-1097/22-7-1686 in which Nēkōjī, Mukandjī, Viṭōjī, Kōlōjī, Tūkōjī and Yashwant Rāo Ghōrpādē are given the highest titles, and it is related in the farmān that they had petitioned His Majesty that whatever happened they would be wholly loyal to the throne. They had been commended to the king not only by Venkaṭa Bagras, one of the high officials of the Quṭb Shāhī Karnatak but also by newswriters, for their loyalty and straightforwardness, doubtless in the face of the increasing tempo of the Mughal advance.²⁶

It may also be noted that all these farmāns bear the seal "Khuma bi'l-Khair-i wa's-Sa'ādah" ("Sealed" or "Ended" well and auspiciously), a motto which had been adopted by 'Abdu'l-lāh after the Deed of Submission of 1656 under which among other things, Aurangzeb's eldest son was married to 'Abdu'l-lāh's eldest daughter and declared heir to the Quṭb Shāhī throne

(ii) *Relations with the English at Madras*

Nēknām Khān was succeeded as governor of Golkonda-Karnatak by Mūsā Khān and then by Mardān Khān, who gave place to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khalilu'l-lāh Khān and finally by Madanna's brother Akkanna. When Akkanna was appointed Sarlashkar or Chief of the Army Staff by the king about the end of 1682 he was replaced as Governor of Karnatak by his nephew, Podili Lingappa, the ṭarafdar of Poonamallee which covered Fort St. George.²⁷ Almost from the time Lingappa took over the charge

26. For this farmān see *B.I.S.M. Quarterly*, March 1933, p. 73.

27. While our Indo-Persian Chronicles practically ignore the European settlements on the Golkonda Coast, or at least belittle their importance, we have ample data in the shape of volumes of letters written by the governors of Fort St. George. We have also the *Diaries of Sir Streyntsham Master*, Governor of Madras, 1678-81, edited by R. C. Temple and published in 1911, *Diaries and Consultation Books of the Madras Council*, covering practically the whole of Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign, and *Factory Records of Fort St. George* actually beginning with 1672, the year of Abu'l-

of Poonamallee district he began to exert his authority *vis à vis* the English administration at Madras. The English were armed by a Qual ("Cowie" in English records), or "Undertaking", by Nēknām Khān that "the town of Madras shall remain wholly rented for ever under the English at 1200 pagodas per annum so long that the Sun and the Moon endureth", and he also allowed the English to exercise the powers of administration including justice and (military) command of the town.²⁸ Nēknām Khān had handed over the village of Triplicane to the English who, for an annual rental of just fifty pagodas or hons, sublet it to one of most influential merchants of Madras, Kasi Viranna ("Casa Verona" of the English records), and when he died in 1680 its lease had passed on to his partners Pedda Venkaṭātri and others. Kasi Viranna evidently enjoyed the confidence not only of the English but also of the Qutb Shāhī authorities at the capital, for he was exempted from paying half the customs duties right through the Qutb Shāhī dominions. San Thome had also been farmed out to Kasi Viranna for 1300 pagodas per annum.²⁹

Hasan's accession. Practically all these and some other documents have been epitomised by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his paper "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers Madanna and Akkanna" (including in *Khazāna-i Tārikh*, the journal of Osmania University History Society, 1339 F., pp. 39-101, later published in a revised form, with illustrations, in *J.I.H.*, August 1931, pp. 91-142), and by C. S. Srinivasachari in his article on "The Madras Council and its Relations with the Golconda Administration (1672-1686)", *J.I.H.*, December 1931, pp. 282-99. I am indebted to the information contained in these two valuable articles.

Poonamallee, now a western suburb of Madras connected with Egmore railway station by the Poonamallee High Road.

28. The "Cowie" of 1672; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, pp. 76-77.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 29, note 2. Viranna "had a remarkable partiality towards Islam", adopted a Muslim name Hasan Khān and constructed a mosque in Madras. When he died, there was a tussle between the Muslims and the Hindus whether his mortal remains should be buried or cremated; but the Governor and Council of Fort St. George decided that the remains should be cremated as they thought it would be dangerous "to admit the Moors such pretences in the town."

Lease of Sān Thomē, *ibid.*, p. 86. Triplicane, now a part of the city almost immediately to the south of Fort St. George past the famous Island enclosed by two branches of the Cooum. It is this quarter where the old palace of the Nawabs of Arcot stands, converted by the English into a part of the Government Office.

There was a clash between the pretensions of the English who relied on Nēknām Khān's *Qaul*, and the stand of Lingappa who considered the English as being under his command as the representative of the Sultān. When he was promoted to the governorship of Karṇātak he became even more adamant. As Fort St. George lay definitely within his jurisdiction he would not allow the English to deal directly with the Government at Haidarabad. We must remember that the English were always prone to offer monetary consideration for work done for them. Thus when Mūsā Khān succeeded Nēknām Khān the English sent presents worth 500 pagodas "in the shape of scarlet cloth, looking glasses", etc. to him, and smaller presents to his representatives, through Kasi Viranna. In the same way, when the governor of Chingleput, Syed Fateh Miyān, was going to the capital, he was given presents worth 130 pagodas and requested to give a good account of the English to the Golkonda authorities.³⁰

It appears that the indifferent, if not hostile attitude of the English towards Podili Lingappa when he visited the settlement later as governor of Karṇātak touched him to the quick, especially as it contrasted with his cordial treatment at the Dutch settlement of Pulicat. He had scant respect for the English and said that they were a scornful people and Nāknām Khān was foolish to let out Madras for a "paltry rent of 1200 pagodas per annum." He therefore averred that "Nēknām Khān's *Cowle* ended with him" and that he would go to the Sultān and ask him to put Chinnapaṭam in the charge of one of his own officers.³¹

The intransigence of Sir Streynsham Master, Governor of Madras, cost him a great amount of inconvenience and worry. In 1678 Lingappa quietly put an embargo on all paddy entering Mad-

30. Srinivasachari, "The Madras Council" *J.I.H.*, December 1931, pp. 282, 283, quoting *Consultations* of 25.4.1672, and of 26.3.1674.

Chingleput, district with headquarters of the same name, Madras State; 12° 42' N., 80° 1' E.

31. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 356, quoting *Records of Fort St. George*, 1672-78, pp. 90-91. See Srinivasachari, "The Madras Council", *J.I.H.*, December, 1931, p. 285. *Chennapaṭam* was the name of the settlement which sprang up round Fort St. George; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, p. 90; while *Madraspaṭam* was the earliest name of the site on which the Fort was later constructed.

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ras except through Poonamallee where he could charge as much customs duties as he liked, and thus virutally shut off the commodity from the Madras market. That was when he was only the *ṭarafdār* of Poonamallee. On the other hand Streynsham Master applied direct to the Sulṭān for the lease of such important villages as San Thome, Egmore and Tiruvalliyur. He informed Viraraghavayya, who represented English interests at the Court, that he was willing to "offer consideration" to Madanna for this.³² He thus ignored the channel of the *ṭarafdār* and tried to deal directly with the Government of Haidarabad. In 1682 Lingappa, who had now been promoted to the Governorship of Karnatak, went ahead with his schemes and stopped all goods, including even brick and mortar, to enter the area occupied by the English.

Frustrated by this economic onslaughts by Lingappa, Streynsham Master again attempted to override him and sent the *pēsh-kash* of 1200 hons to Ibrāhīm at Haidarabad. He even went further, and when he heard that the Sulṭān was to visit Masulipatam in the near future along with his Prime Minister Madanna, he directed the Chief Factor at Madapollem to try and secure (i) a *farmān* from the Sulṭān giving the English at Madras the right to coin silver rupees and copper paise in the name of the Sulṭān which should have currency all over the Qutb Shāhī dominions; (ii) another *farmān* exempting the English goods from paying toll as was the case at Masulipatam; (iii) a third *farmān* under which Madapollem and Virasheronne or one of the two towns rent free or on a fixed unalterable rent; and (iv) a fourth *farmān* granting Tiruvalliyur, Egmore and Sān Thomē to the English either rent free or a moderate rent.

The whole scheme, however, fell through as the Sulṭān did not proceed to Masulipatam owing to intense heat.³³

There were many other incidents which caused a stalemate between the relations of the Governor of Karnātak and the Governor of Fort St. George. Lingappa again averred that as Fort St. George lay within his jurisdiction, first as the *ṭarafdār* of Poona-

32. *Hist. of Madras, op.cit.*, p. 87.

33. Srinivasachari, "Madras Council", *J.I.H.*, December 1931, pp. 288-89, referring to *Consultations* of June 3, 1678.

mallee and more so as the Governor of Karṇāṭak it was he who should be the channel of communication between the English and the Quṭb Shāhī administration. From this arose other considerations such as the collection of rent, the trade with the adjoining areas, customs revenue and kindred matters, which were of great importance to Quṭb Shāhī economy.³⁴

Streynsham Master was replaced by William Gyfford as Governor in June 1681, and with him the policy of Fort St. George became a little more pliable. The Madras Council resolved that 2000 pagodas might be sent as a "peace offering" to Akkanna the Sarlashkar and 300 pagodas to Podili Lingappa, and Pedda Venkaṭadri was asked to see the latter for probing the basis of some kind of understanding.³⁵ Two months later, on the first of August, the Governor was pleased to inform the Council that "all differences with Lingappa had been concluded". The English agent at the capital informed the Council that Lingappa was a man to be reckoned with, and that Akkanna had ordered that communications to be sent to Fort St. George should go first to the Governor of Karṇāṭak who would send the suitable presents with *naubat* or ceremonial music to the fort.³⁶ The Madras Council was so much overawed that in 1685 Lingappa began to be addressed as His Excellency.

It appears that during the turmoil which ended in the downfall and murder of Nandanna and Akkanna, Lingappa was also dismissed, and shortly afterwards he died. The Council, which was then presided over by Elihu Yale, was truly happy on hearing of his demise and passed a resolution expressing their joy.³⁷ The

34. Aiyangar, "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah", *J.I.H.*, August 1931, p. 109. One thing is certain; Podili Lingappa did not deviate from the loyalty to the Throne in spite of his avidity in matters of money.

35. Srinivasachari, *J.I.H.*, December 1931, p. 296, quoting *Consultations* of 6th June and 20th July 1681.

36. *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682, p. 16, quoted by Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*

37. Srinivasachari, *J.I.H.*, December 1931, p. 299, quoting *Consultations* of December 1687. Yale's rule in Madras is to be remembered in many ways. He was the last governor to deal with the dying Quṭb Shāhī monarchy, his arrival at Madras being almost simultaneous with the fall of the dynasty in September 1687. He was the first governor to have hoisted the

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Council was perhaps justified in the expression of their feelings, for with Podili Lingappa ended the era of tribulations on their part. The fall of Golkonda in September 1687 coincided with the steady rise in the authority on the part of the English at Madras.

(iv) *The Marathas*

One of the most vivid events in the history of the Qutb Shāhīs during the ministry of Madanna is the relations of the kingdom with the Marathas, first upto 1680, the year of Shivaji's death, and again from his death to the fall of Madanna in 1685. It is not necessary at this stage to recount the consolidation of the Marathas under the Nizām Shāhīs and the spurt the race took at the instance of Malik 'Ambar in his struggle for the independence of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, or what was left to it. This struggle threw up the personality of Shāhji. It is related that Shāhji's father Mālōji was childless for a long time, and it was only after he had prayed at the tomb of a Muslim saint Shāh Sharīf that he was blessed with two sons, one in 1594 and the other in 1597. The father named the elder of his sons Shāhji and the younger Sharīfji. This Shāhji was the father of the hero of the Marathas, Shivaji.

Shāhji was born and lived in almost revolutionary period, the period of the extinction of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar and the avalanche of the Mughals from the north. Vijayanagar had virtually ceased to exist as an effective force, and although there were no signs of the end of the last two Bahmani succession states, Bijāpūr and Golkonda-Haidarabad still it was a problem whether they would be able to face the northern onslaught successfully. Shāhji played a fairly effective part in his attempt to save what had been left of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom and obtained Poona as Nizām Shāhī Jāgīrs in 1624, and was further made the Commandant of Chākan and Shivneri with the title of Raja. But when he espied that there was no future for the dynasty he went over to serve

Union Jack on the Fort, to have established a Corporation of Madras and to have acquired the right to coin rupees. These acts of his may be forgotten, but he will always be remembered by his name being given to the famous Yale University in the U.S.A., one of the most flourishing homes of learning in that country. It seems strange today that this was done in recognition of the gift of a parcel of books worth just £500 to the Collegiate School in Connecticut which rose to be the Yale University.

the Bijapur kingdom. Shāh Jahān made him a manṣabdār of 5000, but he left Mughal service in 1632. It was in 1630, while he was stationed at the fort of Shivnerī that Shivaji was born to Jijābāi, and the room in which he is supposed to be born is one of the very few standing monuments in the great fort.³⁸ But Shāhji changed sides as often as his ambition dictated it, and he created a number of 'Adil Shāhī jagirs for himself by the conquest of outposts in the far south, such as Ikkeri, Bangalore, Basavapaṭam and Vellore. He captured Tanjore in 1659, a town which later became the seat of his son Venkoji by his second wife, 'Tūpābāi.³⁹

It seems strange that Shivaji could accomplish so much within fifty-three years of his short life. He was born in 1627 or 1630⁴⁰ and with his tact, fearlessness, intrepidity, nonchalance and unscrupulousness he organized the Maratha people such as none of

38. The great mountain fort of Shivnerī overlooks the historical town of Junnār or Junair in the Poona district, 19° 21' N., 73° 58' E. Shivaji attempted to capture the great fort a number of times but failed. It is rather strange that the only civil building left intact in the fort should be his birth-room, and that in such an excellent condition. Shivaji was certainly born in the fort, but it seems doubtful whether he was born in the exact room which is shown to a visitor as his birth place. Junnār was the fort where Shahji had crowned Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh III as King.

39. Bangalore, now capital of Mysore State, 12° 58' N., 77° 38' E.
Vellore, capital of North Arcot district, Madras State; 12° 55' N; 70° 11' E.

Tanjore (Tanjavūr) headquarters of the district of that name, Madras State; 10° 47' N., 79° 10' E.

40. There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the dates of Shivaji's birth and death. Kincaid and Parasnis in their *"History of the Maratha People, I"* p. 123 give April 10, 1627 as the date of his birth and rely on *Marathi Itihāsanchi Sādhana*, pp. 42-43, while Grant Duff, in his *History of Mahrattas*, I, 69, puts it down to May 1627, relying on Mankar's Introduction to Krishnaji Anant Sabhāsad's *Life of Sivaji*. There is another tradition that Shivaji was born in February 1630, and this is related by J. N. Sarkar in his *Shivaji and his Times*, p. 23. See Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, I, 96, editor's n. 4. In the same way there is difference of view among scholars regarding the date of his death. Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, I, 227 gives the 5th of April, 1680; Fryer: *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1909, III, 167, gives the 1st of June; Kincaid and Parasnis, *op.cit.*, I, 270 say that he died on April 3, while Clément, the French agent at Rājāpūr, gives April 17, 1680. See Grant Duff, I, p. 227, editor's note, 1. M.A., 194 says that Shivaji died on 24-4-1091/14 May, 1680.

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his predecessors or his successors could do. In 1672, the year of Abu'l-Hasan's accession, he was already one of the most prominent figures in south India,⁴¹ and it is no wonder that he began to think in terms of his own coronation as an independent king of the territories which he had inherited as his jāgīr or which he had himself brought under his control. The main stumbling block in the way of the ceremony was the origin of his family which was not known to be even of the Kshatriya stock, but this was overcome by the "discovery" of the genealogy which connected him with the great House of Udaipur.⁴² He was crowned at Rāigarh as "Mahārājā Shivaji Chatrapati" on June 6, 1674, with great pomp, while

41. Shivaji's mercurial personality and his doings even during his father's lifetime, upto 1672, revolutionised South Indian history. We see his appeal to Shah Jahan for the release of his father; then his submission to Prince Aurangzeb when he left for the north to fight his way to the throne; his preparation of the ruse to entice Afzal Khān to Partābgarh and his murder; his maiming of Aurangzeb's uncle, Shā'istā Khān; at Poona; his submission to Jai Singh resulting in the Treaty of Purāndhar; his siding with the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur; his trip to Agra and his escape from there in a basket of sweetmeats, — these and many other adventures made him one of the most daring personalities of medieval India. A recent publication on Shivaji's journey to and from Agra (which happened in 1666 immediately after the Treaty of Purandhar) by Jadunath Sarkar and Raghubir Singh, called *Shivaji's Visit to Aurangzib at Agra*, Calcutta 1963, would repay study in this connection. It reproduces a number of letters from Aurangzeb to Shivaji, from the representatives of Jai Singh's son, Rām Singh, Shivaji's host and "caretaker" at Agra, and records important conversations. He had captured Sinhgārh in February 1670, had sacked Sūrat twice, once in January 1664 and again in October 1670, and had taken Panhala, Parli and Satara. The ground was ready for his coronation. But before the function could be held he had to prove that he was a Rajput, and this was overcome by the "discovery" of a genealogy under which he was shown to be the scion of the premier house of Rajasthan.

Sūrat, headquarters of a district of that name in Gujarat 21° 12' N., 70° 52' E.

Parli, district Bīr, Maharashtra State; 18° 53' N., 76° 36' E.

Satara, headquarters of a district of that name in Maharashtra State; 17° 42' N., 74° 2' E.

42. The editor of Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, quotes (p. 204 n. 4) Ranade's *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 46 that "it is in the spirit of the same fond superstition that native historians trace for Sivaji a fabled descent from the royal house of Udepur". The editor also quotes Jadunath Sarkar that "the Bhonsles were popularly known to be neither Kshatriyas nor of any other twice-born caste, but were tillers of the soil."

the second ceremony was held a few weeks later on the death of his mother. Shivaji now became one of the three protagonists of the independence of the Deccan. But while Haidarabad was on the whole ready to help the faction-ridden Bijapur even when the Qutb Shāhī state was in danger, Shivaji almost invariably looked for his own advantage. Even when Abu'l-Hasan helped him both morally and materially to occupy the lands south of Tungabhadra he failed to restore any part of the conquered lands to Abu'l-Hasan in spite of his promise to do so.⁴³

One of the first acts of the newly crowned king was to change the nomenclature of his ministers, the Ashta Pradhān, from Persian to Sanskrit, or rather Marathi. Thus the Peshwa became Mukhya Pradhān, Mu'azzamdār became the Pant Abātya, Sarnaubat became Senāpati and Dabīr became Somant.⁴⁴

It was in 1676 that Shivaji began to plan "the most important expedition of his life"—the campaign of 1677 which resulted in the complete control of the lands south of the Tungabhadra right up to Bangalore and Tanjore.⁴⁵ Shivaji's avowed object of the venture was the division of Shāhji's heritage in the south between himself and his half brother Venkōji who was in the sole possession of the jāgīrs with his centre at Tanjore. But his ultimate object was the eradication of the influence of Bijapur from the area and to make Venkōji his virtual subordinate.⁴⁶ He had, how-

43. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says in his learned article on Madanna and Akkanna, *J.I.H.*, 1931, on pp. 129-130, that "it was really to the interest of these two Islamic States (Bijapur and Golkonda—Haidarabad) that the Mahratta State should not go out of existence.... The policy adopted by Abul Hasan Qutub Shah at the time of alliance with Shivaji and Bijapur was one which was best under the circumstances." This is perfectly understandable; but this policy came to naught, owing to the inherent weakness as well as exposure of Bijapur and the mercurial disposition of the Maratha leader.

44. It is interesting to note that at least the title of the Prime Minister, Peshwā, remained a part not merely of Maratha history and Marathi language but also of the history of India in general.

45. Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, I, 209.

46. It seems rather far-fetched that what Shivaji wanted was "to carve out a new kingdom as far south as possible to which he might retreat" in case of defeat by the Delhi armies (as suggested by the editor of Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, p. 213, n. 1.). Jadunath Sarkar's surmise (*Life and Time of*

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ever, to cover his two flanks, the Mughal flank and the Haidarabad flank. It was not very difficult for him to offer obeisance to the Emperor through the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, Khān-i Jahān, by the offer of a large amount as *pēshkash* and to pass a considerable amount of money to the Governor himself for kindness shown and work done. This covered the Mughal flank. The case of Haidarabad also proved to be easy. Shivaji had been to Gōl-konḍa almost immediately after Abu'l-Ḥasan's accession, as early as 1672. He had appeared at the gates of the city with a large Maratha force and wrested 20 lakh pagodas with which he had returned to Rāigarh.⁴⁷ But the venture of 1677 was far wider in its significance and new methods had to be found to cover the Qutb Shāhī flank. Ragunath Narāyan Hanumantē was the chief adviser of Venkōji, but almost without any notice he defeated and came direct to Haidarabad where he was received with open arms by the minister Madanna.⁴⁸ "Madanna had a partiality for Sanskrit especially on the side of religion and philosophy" and he became the minister's honoured guest. When he had an audience of the Sultān he spoke to him in chaste Persian, a fact which drew the Sultān close to him. Even before Shivaji arrived at the Qutb Shāhī capital, Hanumantē was able to persuade the minister to agree to an offensive and defensive alliance with Shivājī "and thus preserve the Hindu India of the south that was vanishing before their eyes".⁴⁹

It was towards the end of 1677 that Shivaji arrived with great pomp at the Qutb Shāhī capital, accompanied by thirty thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry. An interview with the Sultān had been previously arranged and it lasted several hours. It resulted in a treaty between the two under which it was decided

Shivaji), quoted in the footnote above, that Shivaji's aim in this expedition was only "to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth" is belied by Shivaji's permanent control of the territory so long as he lived.

47. Kincaid and Parasnis, *op.cit.*, p. 238.

48. There is a clear indication from Martin's *Mémoires and his Diary*, quoted and discussed by C. S. Srinivasachari in *History of Gingee and its Rulers*, pp. 232 ff., that the whole episode of Shivaji's visit to Haidarabad was prearranged, as also, perhaps, Hanumantē's defection.

49. Aiyangar, *op.cit.*, 103. Hanumantē's knowledge of Persian is vouchsafed by *Shivdīgviyaya Bhakkar*, referred to by Kincaid and Parasnis, *op.cit.*, p. 254.

that the Haidarabad government should not bar Shivaji's road to the south to take possession of his father's jāgīrs there and that Abul'l-Ḥasan would give him a subsidy of 3,000 hons per day so long as the campaign lasted; while on his part Shivaji promised to hand over to Abul'l-Ḥasan the parts of Karṇātak which had not belonged to his father. The treaty included an article (probably secret) that it would in effect be an offensive and defensive alliance of the two powers against the Mughals.⁵⁰

Doubly armed against the Mughals and with Bijapur in the doldrum, Shivaji now marched southwards after staying at Haidarabad for a whole month. He crossed into what is called South India at the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in March 1677 and descended into Bijapur Karnatak by way of Cuddapah via the Damulcherry or Venkataramangiri pass marching by Madras in the first week of May. From there he went straight to the great fort of Jinji which he occupied without firing a shot. From Jinji he marched to Vellore which was surrendered after a siege which lasted four months. As Venkōji was still recalcitrant Shivaji occupied Arnī, Kolār and Sīra and laid waste the whole territory north of Tanjore.⁵¹ He then proceeded northwards,

50. For the treaty see Aiyangar, *op.cit.*, 106. About this time the Quṭb Shāhī dominions extended along the Eastern coast of the peninsula right upto St. Thomas Mount with a bulge in Anantapur district, and the Ghats. "Immediately to the west of it lay the Bijapur conquest from Vijayanagar taking into it the eastern part of what is the present (1930) State of Mysore, leading southwards through the Baramahal of Salem into North Arcot district and extending almost to the banks of the Kaveri and the Coleroon". It may be noted that not an inch of this territory was ceded to Abul'l-Ḥasan after Shivaji's successful campaign.

51. Cuddapah, headquarters of a district in Andhra Pradesh; 12° 42' N., 80° 1' E. Venkataramagiri, Venkatagiri pass in the map; 13° 57' N., 79° 37' E. Jinji or Gingee, a great fort in North Arcot district, Madras State; 12° 15' N., 79° 24' E., Kolār, headquarters of a district in Mysore State, site of gold mines; 13° 9' N., 78° 11' E. Sīra, Tumkur district, Mysore State; 13° 45' N., 76° 57' E. For Shivaji's progress southwards to Jinji see C. S. Srinivasachari *op.cit.*, pp. 210 ff. It appears that on the occupation of Jinji by Shivaji he was approached by Abul'l-Ḥasan to allow it to be put under the command of one of his generals, and it was his refusal to do so that "opened Abul Hasan's eyes to the deception which had been practised upon him" and "made him realise that Shivaji and Madanna had come to a secret understanding with each other to the prejudice of his own interests," Martin's

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occupied Bellary after a siege of 27 days, as well as the important fort of Kopbal in the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab.⁵² He now appointed his half brother Santōjī as the governor of Karnāṭak and forced Venkōjī to divide the hereditary jewels and the money he had between Shivājī and himself and to hold Tanjore not as a fiefholder of Bijapur but directly under Shivājī.

Shivājī had thus killed four birds with one shot. He had throttled Venkōjī's ambitions; had shut off the lands acquired by the 'Adil Shāhīs out of the ruins of Vijayanagar; had closed the gates of South India from the Mughals so long as the state of affairs created by him lasted; and finally, by a stratagem, had not ceded an inch of the newly-acquired territory to the Qutb Shāhīs. He had checkmated all his potential opponents with one move. Flustered with this quadruple victory he crossed the Krishna, laid waste the Mughal territory between the Bhīmā and the Godāvāri and pillaged the far off city at Jālnā for three days.

It was not long before Shivājī died on April 3, 1680, at the comparatively early age of 53. But before he died he saw a number of defeats and disasters either to his own forces or of his ally, Goklonda-Haidarabad, at the hands of the Mughals and Bijapur. His son Sambājī, who was by no means a favourite of his father, went over to Dilēr Khān, the Mughal governor, a fact which must have been a shock to the father, especially when Dilēr proclaimed him Raja of the Marathas.⁵³ He was able to raid the Mughal territory up to the Narbada, but he was defeated at Jālnā. And perhaps the greatest set-back to his policy was the defeat of the Qutb Shāhī army at the hands of the combined forces of the Mughals

Mémoires quoted by Adrian Duarte in his paper on "An Estimate of Madanna from French Records", *J.I.H.*, XI, pp. 298-313; Srinivasachari, *op.cit.*, pp. 234-35. Martin observes that "Madanna knew Shivaji too well not to realise that he would never keep the promise he had made"; Duarte adds that "the whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abū'l-Hasan into pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Mahratta chieftain". For the value of Martins *Mémoires* see S. N. Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*.

52. Bellary, headquarters of a district in Mysore State; 15° 9' N., 76° 55' E. Kopbal, in the Raichur district, Mysore State; 15° 20' N., 76° 13' E. Jālnā, in the Aurangābād district, Maharashtra Province; 19° 51' N. 75° 56' E.

53. Sambhaji's defection; Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, I 224. Shivaji's death reported to Aurangzeb; *M.A.*, 114

and Bijapur consequent on the second battle of Malkhēr which put an end to whatever authority was left with the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom.⁵⁴

Shivaji was succeeded by his son Sambhājī or Shambhūji. Even in his father's life time he had been like a thorn in the flesh, and his crossing over to Dilēr Khān must have touched the father to the quick. On the other hand, when on the throne, he received the Emperor's rebellious son, Prince Akbar, with open arms and later proclaimed him Emperor. Sambhājī became so much involved in Mughal affairs at home that he could not follow up the policy of his father in supporting Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh against the Mughals, with the result that when the scales were turned Shivājī's friends, Madanna and Akkanna, were dragged by the Golkonda populace and decapitated, while Shambhājī himself was put to a cruel death after the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda.

(V) *The Mughals and Bijāpūr*

The Quṭb Shāhī kingdom lay prostrate at the mercy of Shah Jahan after the fateful Deed of Submission of 1656, and what independent authority was left with the Sulṭān was virtually handed over to Aurangzēb by the *Ta'ahhud* or "Agreement" to which Abu'l-Ḥasan subscribed on 4-5-1674. But he felt that with the continued progress of Mughal arms in the Deccan it was necessary not merely to strengthen the fortifications of the kingdom and modernise its armed forces, but also to look round for allies. It was mainly this motive of self-preservation which made Abu'l-Ḥasan join hands with Shivājī in the vain hope of getting back at least some of his Karṇāṭak territories, and to help the child king of Bijāpūr, Sikandar, who was not even five when he came to the throne on 13-8-1083/12-11-1672, seven months after the accession of Abu'l-Ḥasan. The policy of preparing the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom for a possible struggle with the Mughals and resuscitating Bijāpūr, was actively promoted by Madanna. Abu'l-Ḥasan himself was a changed man, and it is rather remarkable that one who had signed the *Ta'ahhud* within two years of his accession should be hobnobbing with Shivājī within another period of two years, and giving active help to Bijāpūr soon after.

⁵⁴. For the two battles of Malkhēr see later.

Bijāpūr was in an almost anarchic condition. With a child on the tottering throne there was no end of civil strife which came to be resolved in a struggle for power between 'Abdu'l-Karīm and Mas'ūd Khān, each followed by a number of other nobles. There were daily quarrels and even street squabbles among the adherents of different groups in the capital. In 1677 the boy Sikandar was so upset that he addressed an earnest appeal to Abu'l-Ḥasan to do something to allay this state of affairs. He also wrote to him that the two sister States had been like one body in the past and that unless Mas'ūd Khān was made the chief executive officer there would be no possibility of any administrative or other reform in the State.⁵⁵ The Qutb Shāhī government made an immediate response. Abu'l-Ḥasan asked both the leaders to proceed to Haidarābād, 'Abdu'l-Karīm from Bijāpūr and Mas'ūd Khān from Adoni where he was living in great style. He told them that if they did not compose their quarrels there was a great danger of the State being swept away. When it was found that a sum of money to the tune of six lakhs of hons was needed for the payment of the salary of the army which was in 'Abdu'l-Karīm's charge, he imposed the following conditions before the grant could be made: (1) 'Abdu'l-Karīm should demobilise his forces; (2) The money, which was to be passed on to Mas'ūd Khān, should be paid by him to 'Abdu'l-Karīm who should have nothing more to do with the army; (3) Mas'ūd Khān should be appointed Prime Minister of Bijāpūr and should in no case bow before Shivaji; (4) Akkanna should be received at the Bijāpūr court as the permanent Qutb Shāhī envoy. After the agreement had been signed by all parties, Abu'l-Ḥasan handed over his order for the payment of 6 lakhs of hons to Mas'ūd Khān who in turn passed it on to 'Abdu'l-Karīm.⁵⁶ The Sultān ordered three or four thousands of his cavalry to accompany the Bijāpūr officials as far as the Bijāpūr State border.

While at Gulbarga, the two leaders met Dilēr Khān, the Muḡhal viceroy. It shows the pusillanimity both of Mas'ūd Khān and 'Abdu'l-Karīm that, almost before the ink of the agreement with

55. *Basātīn*, 453 ff. The abject condition of Bijapur can be gauged by its utter helplessness at this juncture, and it is no wonder that Sikandar proved to be the last occupant of the 'Adil Shahi throne.

56. *Ibid.*, 454, Adoni, Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh; 16° 38', 77° 10' E. J. 4

Abu'l-Hasan was dry, they entered into another and wholly divergent agreement with Dilēr Khān that the new Prime Minister, Mas'ūd Khān, should be totally loyal to the Emperor and should not have even a semblance of relations with Shivaji. He was admonished not only to clear the State of highwaymen and marauders but also, with the help of Dilēr Khān's army, to retake the 'Ādil Shāhī districts which had been wrongly occupied by Shivaji. He should also act according to the directions of the Mughal envoy to Bijapur, Malik Barkhurdār. Mas'ūd Khān entered Bijapur on 9-1-1089/21-2-1678.⁵⁷

The net effect of the attempt to resolve the quarrels at the sister State by 'Abu'l-Hasan was no doubt negated by Dilēr Khān; but the episode demonstrated that the government of Haidarābād had regained its former status and was strong enough to resolve party squabbles even outside its own borders. Bijāpūr became definitely a Mughal protectorate. Its nobles began to cross over to the Mughal camp and some of them were employed as high officials in the outlying provinces of the Empire. The Emperor went out of his way to confer the title of King on Sikandar, and it was reported to him that his name was read in the Friday *Khutba* at the capital, while it appeared on the gold and silver coins of the kingdom.⁵⁸ Further, a pēshkash of 11 lakh hōns was graciously accepted by the Emperor. The new Prime Minister, Mas'ūd Khān sent the king's sister, Pādshāh Bibī, to Delhi in spite of her refusal, and she was there married to Prince Ā'zam on 12-7-1090/9-8-1679.⁵⁹

It was partly to put a stop to Shivājī's depredations within Imperial territory and partly to eliminate the two problem kingdoms of the Deccan that Aurangzeb left for the south, never to return. He left Ajmēr on 5-9-1090/30-9-1679, reached Aurangābād on 3-3-1093/22-3-1682 and Aḥmadnagar on 3-12-1094/13-11-1683.⁶⁰

57. *Ibid.*, 456. Date of Mas'ūd Khān's entry into Bijapur, p. 457. 'Abdu'l-Karīm died on 8-11-1088/25-12-1677, and it was Mas'ūd who was now all in all at the capital. The date of 'Abdu'l-Karīm's death establishes the approximate date of the episode.

58. *M.A.*, 167-192.

59. *Basatin*, 487.

60. Progress of the Emperor southwards; *M.A.*, pp. 212, 239. The extremely slow pace by which the Imperial cavalcade progressed from Ajmēr

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While he was at Aḥmadnagar, the Qutb Shāhī envoy, Muḥammad Ja'far 'Ainu'l-Mulk was received by him when he presented his credentials. By that time Shivājī was dead and his successor Sambhājī dared to give asylum to Aurangzeb's fourth son, Prince Akbar, and even to proclaim him Emperor. To add fuel to the fire, Syed Muẓaffar's son Mir Hāshim reported to the Emperor that Abu'l-Ḥasan was secretly allying himself with Sambhājī and even advancing him large sums of money.⁶¹

Aurangzeb's arrival in the Deccan electrified the whole atmosphere. While Khān-i Jahān occupied Poona, and A'zam took Shōlāpūr, Mu'azzam captured Gokak, Hubli and Dhārwar.⁶² although the campaigns in north and south Konkan had proved a failure. Shivājī's scheme of a confederacy of the three Deccan powers had come to naught by his own action, and now Sambhājī was perhaps too much engaged in profligacy on the one hand and continued engagements with the Mughals on the other to effect any understanding with Bijāpūr or Golkonda. The result was that when time came and Imperial forces attacked the two States one after the other, Sambhājī was not there to help them at all. On the other hand Bijāpūr was trying its best to come to some definite understanding with Haidarābād regarding the future policy to be pursued. On 8-8-1095/11-7-1684 Shāh Ḥaẓrat Qādirī was sent to

can easily be explained by the paraphernalia which was deemed necessary for such a progress; for this see the interesting description of the Mughal army on the march especially when it accompanied the Emperor, in Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, pp. 253-55. Practically everything conducive to pomp and comfort was duplicated and was sent in advance so that the camp might be fixed up and ready at the next stage when the Emperor would arrive there. Moreover the power and the fame of the Empire was such that not much heed was paid to the growing dark clouds in the Deccan and elsewhere. It is no wonder that it took four years for the cavalcade from Ajmēr to reach Aḥmadnagar.

'Ainu'l-Mulk received in audience; *ibid.*, 249; M.A., 411. It may be noted that many of the Hijrī dates given by Khāfi Khān fall short of one year, while the facts related correspond to other authorities. See Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, p. 256, f.n. 1, towards the end.

61. M.L., 412.

62. Grant Duff, *op.cit.*, 257.

Gokāk, Belgām district, Mysore State; 16° 11' N., 74° 52' E. Hubli, Dhārwar district, Mysore State; 15° 20' N., 75° 12' E. Dhārwar, headquarters of a district, Mysore State; 15° 27' N., 75° 5' E.

Haidarābād for consultation and advice, and on his return he was ordered by Sikandar to go to Mas'ūd Khān at Adoni on 2-9-1095/3-8-1684. He returned a few days later with a message from Mas'ūd that the old ties with the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy should be maintained and even strengthened. This greatly enraged Aurangzeb and he issued definite orders to Abu'l-Ḥasan to desist from giving any help to Bijāpūr and to sever all connection with that State.⁶³ He was also informed that Abu'l-Ḥasan had dared to occupy the pargana of Ramgīr (which had been ceded to Shāh Jahān as part of the dowry of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh's daughter when she was married to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān in 1656) and Sērām, both of which were a part of the Mughal Sarkar of Nandē.⁶⁴ Aurangzeb knew that Bijāpūr was like a shield to Golkonda-Haidarābād, and he made up his mind to eliminate it first. Bijāpūr was consequently invested by Prince A'zam on 22-7-1096/14-6-1685.⁶⁵

Abu'l-Hasan was keen on helping Bijāpūr in the straits in which it had been put. He tried to send a large army to the 'Adil Shāhī capital but the road was blocked by the Mughal general Bahrāmān Khān. He wanted to send another army under the command of Madanna's friend, Ibrāhīm Khālilu'l-lah Khān but he rather foolishly communicated his intention to his envoys Muḥammad Ma'sūm and Muḥammad Ja'far 'Ainu'l-Mulk, perhaps not knowing that every communication to them from Haidarābād was censored under the order of the Emperor. The Sulṭān's letter, was if anything, too explicit. It said that he had respected the Emperor as his elder till then; but as His Majesty had taken advantage of Sikandar's youth and had besieged Bijāpūr, he could not sit complacently. It would therefore be quite correct if Raja Sarā-

63. *Basātīn*, 532.

64. *M.L.*, 412.

Rāmgiṛ or *Āramgiṛ*, Karīmnaḡar district, Andhra Pradesh 18° 47' N, 79° 30' E.

Sērām, headquarters of a taluqa of that name, Gulbarga district, Mysore State; 17° 11' N, 77° 18' E.

65. The actual date is given in *Bāsātīn*, 536. Bijāpūr fell on 4-11-1097/12-9-1686; *Ibid.*, 540, *M.A.*, 279. It is strange that Mas'ūd Khān did not budge from Adōni in spite of the entreating letters of his king—such was the disintegrating political atmosphere in the kingdom. For the letters see *Bāsātīn*, pp. 534-38.

bhā were to send reinforcement to Bijāpūr while he (Abu'l-Hasan) would send a large army consisting of 40,000 horse under Khalilu'l-lāh Khān, and would then see how and where the Mughals would face them.⁶⁶ Quite naturally, and almost without a second thought, Aurangzeb made up his mind to make short work of Golkonda even while his forces were engaged in the struggle for Bijāpūr. In order to have some kind of excuse for the invasion of Haidarabad he sent a special envoy, Mirza Muḥammad to Abu'l Hasan demanding the unusually large diamond of 150 *rattīs* for the Emperor. Aurangzeb told him confidentially that what he wanted was not a piece of stone but war with "Qutubu l Mulk and he ordered him to be as rude as possible so that he might get enraged. But Abu'l-Hasan seems to have had a premonition of what was coming, and when Mirza Muḥammad began to be uncivil he reminded him that he was speaking to a *Pādshāh*. To this Mirza Muḥammad retorted that the real *Pādshāh* was the Emperor and no one else. Abu'l-Hasan was ready for a reply, and said that if there were no other *Pādshāhs*, then the Emperor would cease to be *Pādshāh-i Pādshāhān*, which would bring him down in his great status and dignity.⁶⁷

The two Battles of Malkhēr

But Mirza Muḥamad's commission was evidently only a ruse, for almost simultaneously the Emperor ordered Prince Mu'azzam with a number of other senior officers such as Şafdar Khān, I'tiqād Khān, 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān Bārḥah, Raja Mān Singh and many others, with 35,000 horse, to cross the Gōdāvari and overrun Tilang. Knowing what was in store, Madanna sent Khalilu l-lāh Khān, Rustam Rāo and Shaikh Minhāj with 40,000 horse to oppose them, and they were stationed at Malkhēr which was on the Qutb Shāhī border.⁶⁸ The Qutb Shāhī army reached Malkhēr earlier than the

66. For the letter and its antecedents, see *M.A.*, 259-60.

67. *Munt.*, 412. While recording this rather interesting verbal bout, Khafi Khān says that he himself had been in the service of Mirzā Muḥammad's elder brother Murād Khān who had been Imperial ambassador at Haidarābād for two or three years. He adds that he has recorded the story as it fell from the lips of Mirzā Muḥammad himself.

68. It may be noted Khalilu'l-lāh Khān, who held the post of *Sar Lashkar* or Chief Commander, was reverted to his old, comparatively subordinate post of *Sarkhēl*, and Akkanna, who had returned frustrated from

Mughals, and when Khān-i Jahān, arrived at the border he found his route to Haidarabad blocked. In the skirmish which ensued, the Qutb Shāhī army had the upper hand, and had Prince Mu'azzam not arrived with the forces under his command the battle might have taken a different turn. Mu'azzam sent word to the Qutb Shāhī Commander that if Sēram and Kōhīr were to be evacuated he would desist from further fighting. The Commander, Khalīlu'l-lah Khān, was in favour of the arrangement, but Shaikh Mīn-hāj and Rustam Rāo were not. The battle, therefore, continued and bombardment began over again. Prince Mu'azzam thereupon ordered Prince Mu'izzud-dīn and Khān-i Jahān to the front of the centre, backed by Syed 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān Bārhaḥ. On the Qutb Shāhī side Khalīlu l-Lāh Khān stood opposite to the Prince himself. Terrible fighting ensued and lasted till sunset. It is related that when victory seemed uncertain the Mughals had recourse to a stratagem.⁶⁹ They tied a chain weighing three or four maunds⁷⁰ to the tusks of a mad elephant belonging to Rāja Mān Singh and drove it right into Qutb Shāhī lines where it played havoc, resulting in its complete demoralisation. This state of affairs did not improve even when a further contingent of ten thousand horse was despatched from Haidarābād by Madanna. Fighting went on from day to day between the Mughals and the Qutb Shāhīs, and as time passed the Qutb Shāhīs improved and the Mughals wasted two long months at Malkhēr.

Bijāpūr was made Sar Lashkar. It is highly probable that the course of crucial battle of Malkhēr was on account of Khalīlu'l-lah Khān's dissatisfaction caused by his virtual degradation for no fault of his.

69. *M.L.*, 414-18. The episode of the elephant has been relied upon with confidence by Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, p. 261. But it seems improbable that with thousands of spirited troops facing the Mughal army, they should have been scared by a single mad elephant handicapped by a weight of four maunds. Surely one cannon ball or a couple of gun shots would have eliminated the beast. What seems more probable is that Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān allowed the army to be scared and stampeded by the elephant, leading to its final retreat. Grant Duff does not mention the elephant episode but says on p. 259 that "Ibrahim Khān (Khalilullah Khān), who had a fine army and had Khan Jehan completely in his power, made no vigorous attacks, and on the advance of Sultan Mauzum his conduct was so treacherous, or his exertions so feeble, that the Moghuls marched on to Hyderabad with little opposition'.

70. Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 344-45. Sarkar says that the chain weighed 3 maunds, but that is immaterial.

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When Aurangzeb heard in spite of the victory of the Mughals they did not pursue the enemy, he sent word to his son Mu'azzam that he was not happy with the affair. This led to the second battle of Malkhēr when, after heavy fighting, the Qutb Shāhī army was pushed back, mainly owing to the disagreement between Minhāj on the one hand and Khalilu'l-lah Khān on the other. The retreating army was back at Haidarābād in the beginning of October, 1686. It was about this time that Khalilu'l-lah Khān finally went over to Prince Mu'azzam. He was immediately granted a mansab of 6000 and 4000 horse with the title of Mahābat Khān. He was an important link in the line of traitors to the Qutb Shāhī cause who went over to the Mughals for personal glory.⁷¹

The two battles of Malkhēr sounded the death-knell of the Qutb Shāhī kingdom. Abu'l-Hasan was terribly scared at the turn of events and left Haidarābād for Golkonda along with his immediate entourage. On hearing of the Sultān's flight not only the amirs and high officials but also tradesmen left the capital for the citadel with whatever they could lay their hand on. Haidarābād now lay prostrate before the Mughals, and although Prince Mu'azzam issued strict orders that the city should not be despoiled it was looted in spite of the earnest entreaties of Abu'l-Hasan.

The prince now sent an ultimatum to Abu'l-Hasan demanding that (i) he should agree to an annual *peshkash* of 1,20,000 rupees; Gadhi Sēram and pargana Kōhīr and other mahāls, which had been conquered by Mughal arms, should be evacuated; (iii) Madanna and Akkanna should be dismissed. There was hardly any reason for the inclusion of the third condition at this stage, because, while the negotiations were on, the two brothers were no more, for they had been murdered in the streets of Golkonda while going home from the Palace at night-fall on 1-5-1097/

71. M.A., 269; M.L., 418; H.A., 177. Khalilul-lah Khān's defection, 8-10-1686. Manucci, III, 92 n.1, says that "he rose to be generalissimo by soft word and flattery". He was governor of Berar from 1686 to 1687, then governor of Panjab, where he died in 1100/1688-89. Ma'athiru'l-Umarā, III, 627.

25-3-1686.⁷² While Madanna's severed head was sent to Prince Mu'azzam who forwarded it to the Emperor at Shōlāpūr, Akkan-na's head was trampled under the foot of an elephant. It appears that Abu'l-Ḥasan had the feeling that the Mughal avalanche might be stayed, and it is related that five days after the deed, the Qutb Shāhi envoy presented one hundred elephants to the Emperor.⁷³ As regards the *pēshkash* the Emperor sent Sa'adat Khān to Golkonda to collect it. The Sultān said that it was impossible for him to submit such a large amount as there was not enough cash in the treasury, and so he sent nine trays full of jewels to the Imperial envoy for safe custody for two or three days, saying that they might be assayed, and if the amount which might be at hand fell short of the amount demanded he would make it up. He also sent many basketfuls of fruit to the Emperor. When after three days the Sultān wanted the jewels back from Sa'adat Khān he was told that they had already been sent to the Emperor.

Inspite of all this the Emperor continued his march on Golkonda. He was already at Sholāpūr on 3-11-1686, at Bidar on

72. The question of the involvement of the Sultān in the murder is discussed by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in *J.I.H.*, 1931, *op.cit.*, p. 138. While Khāfi Khān, *M.L.*, 419, is clear that Abu'l-Ḥasan had no previous knowledge of the murder, Ishwar Das, according to Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *op.cit.*, "puts it into the mouth of Madanna" certain sentences, which incriminate the Sultān as the prime mover of the deed. *M.A.*, 272 says that the head was sent by the Sultān "as a mark of loyalty and submission", but that is no proof of the Sultān's involvement in the murder. Aiyangar says that "even Bhīm Singh, the author of *Dil Kushā*, who was present at Shah 'Ālam's camp at the time, agrees with Khāfi Khān in regard to this point". It is also on record that there was absolutely no commotion in the populace after the murder. It may be noted that *M.A.*, 272, says that both the decapitated heads were sent to Shāh 'Ālam.

The grand edifice of government constructed by Madanna and manned by his relations—brothers, cousins, nephews—had come down in a terrible crash, first by the failure of his policy at Bijapur and then the defeat at Malkhēr, leading finally to the flight of the king and the helplessness of the population of the capital. This must have turned the tables against the Minister. The feelings both within and outside the Palace became intense and the murder appears to be the cumulative effect of these feelings.

Aiyangar, *op.cit.*, gives a contemporary Dutch print of the actual murder of the two brothers, opposite p. 92, along with their portraits and a fine print of a contemporary Dutch portrait of Abu'l-Ḥasan Qutb Shah.

⁷³ *Manucci*, II, 293-4.

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26-11-1686 and was one kos from Golkonda on 4-3-1098/8-1-1687. On arrival near the fort he ordered its complete investment on 24-3-1098/28-1-1687.⁷⁴

Golkonda besieged

The great saga of the siege of Golkonda, which lasted eight lunar months from 24-3-1098 to 24-11-1098, has been told by many authors, both medieval and modern. There are quite a few episodes worth noting, but perhaps the most remarkable episode of the lot was the great power of organisation and the wonderful stubbornness showed by the Sultān himself. Maḍanna and Akkanna were no more, Khilū'l-lah Khān had defected long before, and many more were to go over; but Abu'l-Ḥasan's grit and power of resistance kept the torch lit for months. And when treachery showed the way to the invaders he ended his rule with a collectedness and composure, with few equals in Indian history. And the act of surrender of the Fort and the end of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty were, in a way, crowned by the extraordinary loyalty, courage and self-abnegation of that martyr to the cause of the dynasty and the State, Mustafā Khān, better known in history as 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī.

On the arrival of the Emperor at Sholāpūr in June 1686 the stage seemed to have been set for a direct conflict, and the Sultān saw that any amount of a talk for some compromise was out of the question. He therefore appointed Shaikh Minhāj, Sharza Khān and Mustafā Khān 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī to defend the fort. He had stocked a vast amount of ammunitions and provisions in the fort and was prepared for a long siege.⁷⁵ Abu'l-Ḥasan was so

74. M.A., 289.

75. The vast stores within the Fort which prolonged the siege for eight months and were still not exhausted, may be compared with the reported might of the encircling army; for which see Siddiqui, *op.cit.*, p. 274. They are said to consist of 1900 musketeers, 14,000 foot-soldiers, 106 guns of various calibres capable of discharging balls weighing 4 seers to a maund, 5809 maunds of gunpowder, 1244 cannon balls and as many as 3,75,000 bags of sand to fill the moat. Many of the guns were mounted on battlement after the conquest of the fortress. Two of these have tell-tale names, the *Fath-i Rahbar* which is now mounted on Pētlā Burj of the Fort, and the *Azhdahā Paikar* which is on Mūsā Burj. The former was cast in 1083/1672-3 and the latter in 1085/1674-5. The charge of the two was more or less similar, namely $13\frac{3}{8}$ seers and $13\frac{1}{4}$ seers respectively. Both

confident of his superiority in arms and armour that he gave orders to his officers that in case the Emperor was made a prisoner he should be treated with the utmost respect.⁷⁶ The first contact between the two armies was two *manzil* (daily travelling stages) from Golkonda. The imperial army was now free as Bijāpūr had fallen on 4-11-1097/12-9-1686, and the Emperor was ready to employ all his might against the Quṭb Shāhī citadel. Khwāja 'Ābid Chin Qilich Khān had arrived, while his son Ghāziyu'd-dīn Khān Firōz Jang was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Trenches were dug outside the fort and artificial hillocks constructed so that a full view of the fort might be obtained. On the other hand, as the enemy approached from the west the Quṭb Shāhī command ordered the artificial undulation on the ground in such a way that practically the whole breadth of the western circumvallation was safe as the gun shots would not hit the wall at all.⁷⁷

One of the first important casualties was that of Khwāja 'Ābid, one of the foremost officers of the Mughal army. The Emperor had ordered trenches to be dug, and Khwāja 'Ābid was supervising it. He was struck by a shot of a *zambūrak* or large gun, from the ramparts of the fort, partly severing the right hand from the shoulder blade. The Khwāja held high rank in the hierarchy of the Empire, and on hearing an account of the incident the Emperor sent his minister, Jumdatu'l-Mulk Asad Khān to enquire of the Khwāja's condition and look after him. He called the Imperial surgeons to operate on the shoulder blade, extract broken bones from it and apply sutures. When the surgeons were about to begin their highly painful operation the Khwāja called one of his ser-

have suitable inscriptions, for which see *Landmarks, op.cit.*, pp. 174-75, 179-180. There is another large cannon, the *Qil'ah Kushā* mounted on one of the battlements between Bālā Hīsār and the adjoining temple. This was cast in 1077/1666-67 and fired a ball weighing 13¼ seers. All the three cannons were moulded by an Arab, Muḥammad 'Alī. See Satguru Parshad: *Farkhundā Buniyād*, Haidarabad, pp. 151-152.

76. *Hadiqatu'l-'Ālam*, 387. It may be noted that the Quṭb Shāhī commanders were themselves sanguine about the possibility of the Emperor being captured. They were so much disgusted regarding the policy pursued by him that they felt they would not be able to control themselves when Aurangzeb was taken prisoner, and it was doubtful if they would treat "the prisoner" well!

77. This is my personal observation and has been missed by practically all authors.

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wants to bring a cup of coffee. While the surgeons were at work he was quietly sipping his coffee and admiring the surgeons saying that he was fortunate that such a fine team of stitchers had been put at his disposal! Not a sigh, not a cry emanated from the brave Khwāja as broken bones were being extracted and sutures were being applied. Unfortunately he died the third day, perhaps of blood poison.⁷⁸

Another interesting and highly instructive episode is that of the attempted escalation of the wall of the Fort by the Mughals on May 16, 1687. Fifty thousand cotton bags had arrived from Berār under the Emperor's orders; these were filled with earth and thrown in to make the moat passable which had been widened and deepened by Mūsā Khān in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh. The Emperor himself began the work by stitching the first seam on one of the bags. Everything was ready for the Mughal army to reach the wall, and an attempt at escalation was made. In the dead of the night rope-ladders were thrown up and fixed without the garrison knowing it, and the Mughal soldiers began to scale it. They did their work so slowly and surely that quite a few succeeded in reaching the target. Just then a pariah dog began to bark which caused alarm among the soldiers of the garrison who were immediately on the alert. They cut off the ropes of the ladder and beat off the Mughal soldiers. The dog was taken to the Sultān in triumph who put a collar of gold round his neck, and tied it near his person with a gold-plate chain.⁷⁹

78. See M.A., 289-90; H.A., 387. As many as eleven sutures were necessary. It must be remembered that no method of anaesthesia was known in those days. Khwāja 'Ābid was the ancestor of the Aṣaf Jāhī dynasty which ruled Haiderabad in various capacities from 1724 to 1956; see Yusuf Husain Khan: *Nizāmu'l-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh I*, Ch. I. He was buried at 'Aṭāpūr not far from the place where he died. 'Aṭāpūr is a historical village in its own right, for it had been granted by Abu'l-Ḥasan Qutb Shah to Miān Mishk and contains the remains of a mansion built by him. For the grant see *Landmarks*, pp. 81 ff. Khwāja 'Ābid is buried in a simple grave surrounded by the graves of some of his relatives and friends; embellishments and the marble headstone are modern. His right hand, which was blown off, is buried at Qismatpur close by. It was from a hillock to the south of the graveyard at 'Aṭāpūr that the Emperor trained his guns on Golkonda. See Satguru Parshad: *Farkhunda Bunyād Haidarabad*, pp. 108-110.

79. An interesting Imperial order dated 4-11-1098/1-9-1637 enjoins certain high officials, including the Prime Minister Asad Khān to furnish a

Incessant bombardment from both sides went on day and night. "Day became dark with bombardment and nights lit up".⁸⁰ Firōz Jang was honoured by the Emperor on the death of his father Khwāja 'Abid, and when rift appeared between him and the *Mīr-i Ātish* or Master of Artillery, Safshikan Khān, the latter had to resign. Soon famine conditions appeared in the Mughal camp, as while 40,000 Qutb Shāhī forces under Mustafā Khān were let loose behind the Mughal lines preventing provisions to reach the invading army, Sambhājī's Marathas were laying waste the countryside. In the daily skirmishes many of the Mughal leaders such as the newly appointed *Mīr-i Ātish* Izzat Khān and Sarbarāh Khān were imprisoned. They were treated well by the Sultān, given robes of honour and shown the granaries of corn and stocks of ammunition and gunpowder in the Fort by which they must have been greatly impressed. They were then released and sent back to Emperor's camp along with a petition from the Sultān. The purport of the petition was that Abu'l-Ḥasan wanted forgiveness for any wrong act done by him either purposely or unintentionally. He also requested that in case the Emperor wanted to hand over the government of his dominions to some one when he left the field, it might be delegated to him, and he undertook to abide by the Emperor's orders. Lastly, he promised to distribute one crore of rupees by way of thanksgiving, and also to send 5 or 6 thousand maunds of grain to ward off scarcity in the Imperial camp. He also expressed his wish that no longer Muslim blood might be shed. But the Emperor would have none of it, and the sole condition which he offered was that Abu'l-Ḥasan should present himself before him either with his hands tied or with a rope round his neck. He in fact tightened the siege.⁸¹ On the other hand the scorched earth policy practised by the Qutb Shāhī army outside

number of workmen each (totalling 144) for filling the moat of Golkonda fort; see Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān: *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's reign*, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 169-72. For the escalation episode, see M.L., II, 242. Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān says in his *Nizāmumulk Āṣaf Jāh I*, p. 24, that not knowing the upshot, the Emperor ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, but "he as well as the others were sorely disappointed when the truth was known". The episode furnished an excuse for Ni'mat Khān-i 'Alī to compose some rather satirical lines; see *Waqā'i*, p. 4.

⁸⁰ M.A., 290 ff.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 291-92; *Hadiqatul-'Ālam*, pp. 397-99.

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the Fort was helped by incessant rains. Houses in the city of *Haidarābād* were very badly affected, and the chronicler says (of course with much exaggeration) that "not a human being was left alive there".⁸²

Then came a series of defections of *Qutb Shāhī* leaders to the *Mughal* camp. On 26.7.1098/28.5.1687 *Shaikh Nizām*, "one of the ablest of *Abu'l-Ḥasan's* officers", crossed over to the *Mughals* and presented a valuable *nadhar* to the Emperor. He was honoured with the title of *Muqarrab Khān* and granted a *manṣab* of 6000 with 5000 horse. One by one nearly all the high officials within the fort were lured to pay homage to the Emperor, and even the "adopted" son of the *Sultān*, 'Abul'l-lah, paid homage to the Emperor and was granted a *mansab* of 4000 and 4000 horse on 29.11.1098/27.9.1687⁸³ From the military point of view, however, the *Mughals* failed to cow down resistance. There were a number of successful sorties on the part of the garrison, and once a cannon ball actually hit the bed-tent of the Emperor. When the *Qazīu'l-Quzāt* or the Chief Justice remonstrated that it was against the *Sharī'ah* that a Muslim should fight another Muslim, he was not only reprimanded but actually dismissed.

Mining and counter-mining of the defence continued, but the operation almost always resulted in considerable damage to the Imperialists. While the basis of the wall were mined from outside the defenders always filled them with water making the mines dead and harmless, so that when fired they burst from the outside throwing up stones and debris which rose high and fell on the very party that had fired them. Sometimes holes were bored through and through and the gunpowder extracted by the defenders so that there was no gunpowder left to be fired. The rainy season set in. To make matters worse torrents and cascades filled the dry channels, and it was impossible for the Imperial army to reach the defences of the Fort. The defenders were naturally more immune, and they dared to come out and carry back some of the lighter cannon while they plugged the muzzles of the heavier ones.

82. *M.A.*, 291-92; *Munt.*, II, 342.

83. "*Pisar-i khwāndah*"; *M.A.*, 303.

Inspite of all the "Acts of God" it was well-known that the hide-and-seek policy could not go on *ad infinitum*, and the treason of practically all the high officers of Abu'l-Hasan went on. Only two such officers remained loyal to the Sultān, namely 'Addu'l-lah Khān Pannin (Sarnandāz Khān) and 'Abdu'l-Razzāq Lārī (entitled Mustafa Khān). 'Abdu'l-lah Khān had passed through a varied career. He was originally in the service of Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, but when he knew that the days of the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty were numbered, he went over to the Mughal camp, from where he crossed into Qutb Shāhī service and became the Sultān's confidant.⁸⁴

It was during the night of 24-10-1098/22-9-1687 that 'Abdu'l-lah Khān caused a *khirkī* or postern gate by the old moat to be left open.⁸⁵ On a signal being given, when three-fourth of the night had passed (i.e., about 3 a.m.) the Mughal forces entered the *khirkī*, threw open the shutters of the Fataḥ Darwāzā and began to march through the road which had been forbidden to it for decades. The great triumphal procession was led by Ruḥu'l-lah Khān while Prince A'zam waited in the broad maidān which lies right in front of the Bālā Hisār Darwāzā. Thus the great and proud fort of Golkonda lay at the command of the Mughals. They had tried in vain to conquer it by force of arms for eight months and had now conquered it by an act of treachery on the part of a high officer of the garrison itself. Of all the officers, ministers and commanders the only one now left faithful to the Sultān was 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī. He was also enticed by the Mughal Command, but on the receipt of the *farmān*, is said to have gone up a battlement and torn the *farmān* to pieces in the view of everyone.⁸⁶

84. *Ibid.*, 399. It is not known that 'Abdu'l-lah Khān's service with Abu'l-Hasan was pre-arranged to be of use to the Emperor when time came; but the fall of Golkonda by a mere wave of 'Abdu'l-lah's hand, when it had been defended resolutely for months, has a story to tell. *Gulzār-i Asafiyāh*, p. 50, says that 'Abdu'l-lah Khān's services were bought for three thousand rupees.

85. *Munt II*, 361. *Tārīkh-i Zafarah*, *op.cit.*, says that "the entry of Prince A'zam into the Fort was through a breach in the wall caused by incessant bombardment." There is no corroboration by a contemporary chronicle. Moreover no breach was affected by Mughal bombardment, and none is visible today.

86. *Hadīqatu'l-'Ālam*, 401. This episode seems to be doubtful, as, when Lārī showed himself up he could easily have been shot down.

When Lārī heard the drums of victory, he became almost intoxicated with the desire to end his life in the cause which he held sacred. He mounted an ill-equipped horse, took just a dozen of his faithful followers with him (we hear no more of them), and plunged headlong into the jungle of soldiers who were advancing. It is related that he raised a cry that so long as there was a breath of life in him he would continue to fight for the honour of 'Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh. He was subjected to hand-to-hand fighting but he fought on, never yielding, till he reached Nagīnā Bāgh (which still exists in a ruined condition in the Fort to the right of the Bālā Hīṣār Darwāzā). There, covered with wounds from head to foot, with eyes darkened by the wounded and fallen skin of his eyebrows and forehead falling on them, his horse shivering all over, he fell unconscious beside a cocoanut tree in the grove. It was in this condition, with just a spark of life left in him, that he was carried home in a palanquin to be treated by two surgeons, one a European and the other an Indian, under the Emperor's orders. It was only after thirteen days of intensive treatment that he opened his eyes, or rather one of the two eyes, for the other had been wounded and lost.⁸⁷

Perhaps hearing the beating of the drums of victory and the noise which the advancing army must have produced, Abu'l-Hasan knew that the end had come. He first bade farewell to his wife and the other ladies of the zenana and then waited for what was to be his fate. It is a fairly steep ascent from the Gate through which the Mughal army entered the Fort, and the actual Bālā Hīṣār where Abu'l-Hasan was, is 400 feet from the ground level. It was

87. For details of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq's wonderful fight see *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, p. 404. It is related that when 'Abdu'r-Razzāq regained consciousness he received a *farmān* from the Emperor offering him Imperial service; to which he replied in faltering terms that although God had granted him a second life, he was unable to undertake any further duties. He said that his whole being was full of Abu'l-Hasan's salt, and it would be impossible to join Imperial service. The Emperor was very much upset and angry at this reply, and ordered him to be imprisoned. But Fīrōz Jang interceded, and in 1103/1691-2 he was appointed faujdār of southern Kōnkan. He then proceeded to Arabia on a pilgrimage to Mecca via the place of his birth, Lār in Irān, where he died. Two of his sons, Razzāq 'Alī Khān ('Abdu'r-Razzāq) and Muḥammad Khalīl, were granted jāgīrs. See *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, pp. 407-408.

the end of April entailing fairly long days at Golkonda, and it is no wonder that by the time Ruḥu'l-lāh Khān reached the Sultān's apartments it was daylight. The Sultān was already fully dressed and was waiting for his captors. When he faced Ruḥu'l-lāh Khān he exchanged Muslim salutations with him. The Sultān now called his servants and ordered them to bring the morning repast, with the greatest composure and nonchalance. He then invited the Mughal commanders to partake of the breakfast with him. Mukh-tār Khān and one or two other leaders acceded to his request and joined him. At the same time the following conversation between the Sultān and Ruḥu'l-lāh Khān ensued:—

Ruḥu'l-lāh Khān: "Your Majesty, is this the time at which you should have your breakfast with any equanimity?"

The Sultān: "But this is the hour at which I have my usual breakfast."

Ruḥu'l-lāh Khān: "Your Majesty is right; but how is it possible for you to have any appetite at this critical juncture?"

The Sultān: "You see, my reliance is on God who has always been good and kind to me. Both my parents spent their lives in comfort; but the Almighty so willed that I should live the life of a faqīr for many years. Then he raised me to the throne without my least expectation. And now, on account of my own sins and misdeeds, the reins of government have gone out of my grips. But I again thank the Almighty that the government of this land should pass on to a devout Muslim like 'Alamgīr'.⁸⁸

88. *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, 405. *Tārīkh-i Zafarah*, *op.cit*; p. 48, gives an entirely different and wholly uncorroborated version of the episode; he says that when Ruḥu'l-lāh Khān reached *Bālā Hīsār*, the Sultān was busy in watching music and dance, and that he was brought to the Prince "with rope round his neck". A much later author, Ghulām Husain, says in his *Gulzār-i Aṣafiyāh*, p. 52, that Abul'-Hasan was carried from the Palace to the Gateway in a covered palanquin along with a boy of four sitting opposite. As the boy became very thirsty on the way the Sultān asked a carrier, who was evidently passing by, to give him a cup of water and actually dropped a diamond ear-ring worth fifty thousand rupees, which the boy was wearing, in the cup! Aurangzeb is said to have purchased the costly ornament from the water carrier for Rs. 2000/-. The whole story seems to be incredible and apocryphal. In the same way Manucci's story

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Abu'l-Ḥasan then called for a horse, and wearing strings of pearls, left the palace. When he reached the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā he found Prince A'zam waiting for him. He immediately took off the strings from his neck and put them round the Prince's neck. He was then taken to the Emperor's presence who was all kindness and regard for him. When Aurangzeb left Haidarābād for Bijāpūr on 1.4.1099/25.1.1688 he took Abu'l-Ḥasan with him; but when he reached Bidar on 14.4.1099/7.2.1688 Abu'l-Ḥasan informed the Emperor that he wished to lead the rest of his life in quietude and begged him to send him to a permanent abode. He was thereupon sent to Daulatabād and lodged in the palace built by the Nizām Shāhīs called Kālā Maḥal⁸⁹. The Emperor fixed Rs. 50,000 a year as Abu'l-Ḥasan's allowance, and issued strict orders that he should be treated well and supplied all the necessities to which he was accustomed. He died of diarrhoea in 1111/1699-1700, or a year later, and was buried near the tomb of the grandfather of his preceptor, Shāh Rājū Qattāl, at Khuldābād near Daulatābād Fort.⁹⁰

Abu'l-Ḥasan left four daughters and a son. The eldest daughter preferred not to get married and was her father's constant companion and nurse right till the end. The second daughter was married to Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, the third to 'Ināyat Khān, son of Jumdatu'l-Mulk Asad Khān, and the youngest to Shaikh Muhammad Sarhindī. The son, named Khudā Bandā or Banda-i Sultān, was born while Abu'l-Ḥasan was confined at Daulatābād, but as

(*op.cit.* III, 193, 397) that Abul'l-Ḥasan was badly treated by his captors and even beaten, and that he was imprisoned at Gwalior, is without any foundation.

89. *Ma'athir*, 308. The ex-Sultān was placed under the charge of Mughal officer, Jān Sipār Khān. *M.L.*, II, 371 places the parting of the ways to about a month later.

90. The mortal remains of Abul'l-Ḥasan Qutb Shāh and Firoz Jung's son Aaf Jāh Nizāmu'l-Mulk I, lie buried almost side by side within this sepulchral compound of Shāh Rājū Qattāl, grandfather of Abu'l-Ḥasan's preceptor, while Aurangzeb lies buried in a simple grave over the road a few yards away, with the compound of Ḥazrat Zainu'd-dīn. Thus the victor and the vanquished, the captor and the captive, lie close to each other, cold in death. Fīrōz Jung, is buried in Delhi, in a beautiful tomb constructed by himself next to the grand mosque, the focal point of what is now the Delhi College near Ajmerī Darwāzā.

Khuldābād or Rauzā, headquarters of a taluqa of that name, Aurangābād district, Mahārāshtra State; 20° 1' N., 75° 12' E.

J. 6

the Emperor sensed danger from him after Abu'l-Ḥasan's death he was taken to an unknown place, and we hear no more about him.⁹¹ As has been related above, Abu'l-Ḥasan had adopted a boy, 'Abdu'l-lāh, but he went over to the Mughal camp during the siege of Golkonda and was granted a *manṣab* by the Emperor.

The accumulated wealth of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shah, or what was left of it after the plunder of Haidarabad, was taken over by Imperial agents. It is said to have consisted of 68,51,000 *hons*, 2,00,53,000 rupees and 15,13,00,000 *dams*, besides numerous gold and silver vessels, jewels and priceless inlaid articles.⁹²

91. *Ma'thir*, 312, mentions three daughters, while *M.L.*, II, 312, say that there was a fourth daughter who was the eldest and who chose to be her father's constant companion. *Khudā Bandah* or *Banda-i Sultān*; *Hadiqatu'l-Ālam*, p. 414. Nothing more about the Sultān's progeny is known.

92. *Hadiqatu'l-Ālam*, 408; Gribble, *op.cit.*, 310, where there are slight variations.

Historical Data in the *Kuṭṭanimata* of Dāmodaragupta

BY

DR. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The *Kuṭṭanīmata*, a poem of a modest extent, was composed by Dāmodaragupta during the reign of Jayāpīḍa (779-813 A.D.), a Kaṛkoṭa King of Kaśmīr,¹ with the object of saving the people from the clutches of whores, bawds, rogues and rakes. The poet has, therefore, naturally woven a story illustrating the deceptive nature of these anti-social elements. However, in the course of his narrative he has supplied us with some pieces of valuable historical information which is analysed in the following pages.

I. *Anaṅgaharṣa*

Verse 800 of the *Kuṭṭanīmata*² refers to the demise of Anaṅgaharṣa, a patron of arts and letters, as a 'recent' event.³ The prominence attached to him by Dāmodaragupta more than justifies the general notion of the scholars that he was a royal personage. But so far he has not been satisfactorily identified. The general consensus, however, is in favour of regarding him as identical with the Emperor Harsavardhana of Sthānvīsvara and Kannauj. The first to propose this identification was probably Prof. K. H. Dhruva⁴ who suggested that Harsavardhana was also called Anaṅgaharṣa after *Paṭnāvalī*, I.22, wherein Udayana, King of Kauśāmbī, describing the beauty of queen Vāsavadattā states rhetorically that the god Anaṅga (=bodiless, i.e., Cupid), failing to enjoy

1. *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, IV. 496.

2. References are to Pandit Tansukharāma Manassukharāma Tripāṭhī's edition with Sanskrit commentary, Bombay 1924.

3. *Vayam=api deva-niketanam=Anaṅgaharṣe gate tridiva=lokaṃ/*
Āśritavanto gatvā (v.l. *matvā*) *tīrtha-sthān-ānurodhena*//

4. See Introduction to Prof. K. H. Dhruva's edition of *Prīyadarśikā*.

the touch of her hands, would definitely resent his loss of body.⁵ Pandit T. M. Tripathi acquiesces in this suggestion⁶ and cites numerous examples of poets being nicknamed after some of their famous verses or expressions.⁷ N. C. Mehta also commends this identification.⁸ This view, which is apparently prompted by the fact that the stanza referring to Anaṅgahaṛṣa is immediately followed by one mentioning *Ratnāvalī* plausibly attributed to Haṛṣa-vardhana, though tempting and largely followed, does not carry conviction. The most apposite argument against this identification is that Haṛṣa is not referred to by this name even once by either Bāṇa or Yuan Chwang whose writings form the major source of our information about him. Had he been known by this name, we must justifiably expect it to occur in the prologues of his three plays or in his official records. But it is conspicuous by its absence there. We must, therefore, look for our Anaṅgahaṛṣa elsewhere.

The discovery and publication of the *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja*,⁹ a play based on the Udayana cycle of legends, have thrown interesting light on this problem. According to its *prastāvanā*, it was composed by King Mātrarāja, also known as Anaṅgahaṛṣa, the son of Narendravardhana. The author is described as verily the moon among all the Kings (*Nanu tasya-aiva sakala-narendra-chandramasah śrī-Narendravardhana-sūnor=Anaṅgahaṛṣa-āpaar?nām-nah śrī-Mātrarājasya- ku (kṛi)tau krit-ānurāgo janaḥ samprati*).¹⁰ Ever since the discovery of this play there has been no doubt

5. Anaṅgo=yam=anaṅgatvam=adya, nindishyati dhruvam/
Yad=anena na samprāptaḥ pāṇi-sparś-otsavas=tava// Ratnāvalī, I.22.

6. Vide his scholium on v. 800, p. 285. However, he confounds the author of the *Ratnāvalī* with that of the *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja*.

7. E.g. Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa or Dhūma-Kālidāsa=Kālidāsa; Ātapatra- or Chhatra-Bhāravi=Bhāravi; Nisā-Nārāyana=Nārāyana; Tāla-Ratnākara=Ratnākara; Yamunā-Trivikrama=Trivikramabhaṭṭa, etc.

8. JBORS, XIV (1928), p. 358.

9. It has been edited on the basis of a single manuscript by Yadugiri Yatirāja, Bangalore 1929. The manuscript is very defective and both the beginning and end are lost.

10. *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja*, p. 1.

about the identity of its author with Māyurāja,^{10a} the author of the *Udātta-Rāghava*, a play dramatising the *Rāmāyaṇa* story with alterations and omissions of each of the events of Rāma's life as cast a slur on his character, for the purpose of the author, as indicated by the title of the play, was to represent his hero as entirely free from all defects. This was first suggested by M. Ramakrishna Kavi on the basis of the fact that Sarvānanda in his gloss on the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* quoted a line from the *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja* as Māyurāja's,¹¹ showing thereby that he regarded Māyurāja as just another name of Mātarāja Anaṅgaharṣa. This identification has further been confirmed by the recent discovery by Dr. V. Raghavan of a manuscript of the *Udātta-Rāghava*, which was till then known only from citations in later rhetorical works that gave the author's name as Māyurāja.¹² The prologue of this play as found in the only known manuscript is the same as that of the *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja* which conclusively proves that both the plays proceeded from the same pen. The concluding portion of the *bharata-vākya* (concluding benedictory stanza) of the *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja* is lost irretrievably, but that of the *Udātta-Rāghava*, which is fortunately extant, refers to King Anaṅgaharṣa.¹³ It would thus follow that the real nomenclature of the author of both these plays was Mātarāja Anaṅgaharṣa, and Māyurāja, mentioned in later Sanskrit works as the name of the author of the *Udātta-Rāghava*, was only a simplified (or Prakritised) form of Mātarāja.¹⁴ According to a stanza attributed to Rājasekhara Māyurāja

10a. But contra S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1924, p. 664.

11. *JAHS*, I, p. 157.

12. *Vakrokti-jīvita* (ed. S. K. De, Calcutta 1928), pp. 225, 244; *Daśarūpaka*, II.59; III.24 (Māyurāja mentioned as the author of the *Udātta-Rāghava*); IV.13, 28; *Nāṭya-darpana*, pp. 66, 116, 194; *Abhinava-bhāratī*, ch. xiv, etc. Hemachandra (*Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, Vol. I, p. 457) mentions Māyurāja as the author of a *kāvya*. Also vide Bhaṭṭanātha Svamin, 'Māyurāja', *JA* XLI (1912), pp. 139-143; M. R. Kavi, 'Tāpasa-Vatsarāja', *JAHS*, I, p. 155.

13. *Asatām n-ādna vivekitā pratidinām nandantu virāh param*
Śāntās=tāvad=ami bhavantu sukhinah yāvad=dharitrī-dharāh/
Chandrah prauḍhataṛah u-sahridayah oṭhā tath āuam iana(?).....
Gachchhantv=āpta-sukṛit-samāgama-sukhen- Anaṅgaharṣ-odauam//

14. Alternatively, Mayuraja may have been derived from Matiraja through the intermediate stage Mauraja.

was unparalleled among the Kalacuri poets.¹⁵ Sodḍhala in his *Udayasundarī-kathā* describes Māurāja as a *sāmanta*.¹⁶ Mātrarāja (or Māyurāja) Anaṅgahaṛṣa was thus a Kalacuri King. But unfortunately he is not referred to in any Kalacuri inscription and consequently we know nothing whatsoever about his career except only his poetic attainments.

There is a good deal of divergence of opinion about the date of the royal poet Mātrarāja Anaṅgahaṛṣa. There prevails a similar uncertainty as regards the kingdom over which he ruled. M. Ramakrishna Kavī regarded *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja* as older than the *Ratnāvalī* of Śrī-Harṣa and Māyurāja as a Kalacuri ruler of Māhismatī. He proposed to place Mātrarāja about 600 A.D. and took him to be a contemporary with Bhavabhūti or earlier by about half a century mainly on stylistic evidence.¹⁷ Bhattanatha Svāmin points out that the plot of the *Udātta-Rāghava* deviates much more from the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* than the plot of Bhavabhūti's '*Vīracarita*' and consequently thinks that Māyurāja must be placed after Bhavabhūti and before Rājaśekhara, i.e., sometime between A.D. 750 and 880.¹⁸ M. Krishnamachariar thinks that Māyurāja Anaṅgahaṛṣa was a Kalacuri King of Māhismatī who flourished before the middle of the eighth century A.D.¹⁹ Dr. V. V. Mirashi opines that he was one of the Kalacuri chiefs of Kālāñjara who lived after Vāmadeva and before Śaṅkaragana I of Tripurī, sometime in the first half of the 8th century A.D.²⁰ S. K. De holds that the *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja* belongs to a period earlier than the middle of the 9th century as it was known to Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta as well as to Kuntaka.²¹

15. *Māyurāja-samo nānyo jajñe kalachuriḥ kaviḥ/
Udanvataḥ sam=uttasttruḥ kati vā trehin-āṁśavaḥ//*

Quoted in Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvalī*, p. 46.

16. *Udayasundarīkathā* (GOS), p. 150.

17. JAHRS, Vol. I, pp. 150ff.

18. IA, XLI (1912), p. 143.

19. M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 632, 638. According to him, Murāri, in his *Anargharāghava*, makes a veiled allusion to Anaṅgahaṛṣa.

20. *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, CII, IV, Introduction, p. lxxi.

21. S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period*, Vol. I, p. 301.

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In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, the identification of Anaṅgahaṛṣa mentioned by Dāmodaragupta with the homonymous author of the two aforesaid plays may be regarded as fairly certain. And as the date of Dāmodaragupta is indisputably settled by the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (IV. 496) which makes him a contemporary of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, the King of Kaśmīr, his reference to King Anaṅgahaṛṣa enables us to ascertain more precisely the lower limit for the flourishing period of the Kalaguri royal poet (i.e., Anaṅgahaṛṣa Mātrarāja). The earliest rhetorician to cite a stanza from one of his works, though without naming the author or the work, is Ānandavardhana (A.D. 855-883)²². while the first to mention Māyurāja by name is, as we have already seen, Rājasekhara (late 9th-early 10th century A.D.). Thus the evidence available so far could only warrant the general conclusion that Anaṅgahaṛṣa Mātra(yu)rāja lived before the middle of the ninth century A.D.²³ Although Professor Mirashi had suggested for Māyurāja some date in the first half of the eighth century A.D.,²⁴ it was a mere conjecture as he did not adduce any evidence in support of his position. The *Kuṭṭanī-mata* reference in question settles this problem once for all, as it proves beyond doubt that Anaṅgahaṛṣa Mātrarāja could not have flourished later than the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. That he could not have lived much earlier and that his demise was an episode still fresh in public memory in the time of Dāmōdaragupta is evident from the manner in which he refers to it. We are told that on the demise of King Anaṅgahaṛṣa a dance master (*nartakācārya*), who had so far apparently enjoyed his patronage, went to *Vārāṇasī* as it was a *tīrtha* and there trained some dancing girls in playing the *Ratnāvalī*, a play emanating from the pen of the Emperor Harṣavardhana. Now, as Harṣa lived upto about the middle of the 7th century A.D. and assuming that his plays must

22. *Utkampinī* etc. (*Dhvanyāloka*, on III. 3-4, p. 304 of KSS. Vol. 135, Varanasi 1940) = *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja*, II.16. The *Tāpasa-Vatsarāja* has been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Rājasekhara, Kuntaka, Mammata, Maṅkha, Bhoja, Jalhana and Hemachandra also. Vide pp. 17 ff. of the Sanskrit Introduction to the play.

23. As has been pointed out by Dr. S. K. De in *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Classical Period, Vol. I, p. 301.

24. *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, CII, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. lxxi.

have taken at least half a century to have attained such a great popularity, Anaṅgahaṛṣa Mātrārāja, in whose court the *nartakā-gārya* must have frequently been required to direct the performance of the *Ratnāvalī*, could not have lived before the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Anaṅgahaṛṣa must, therefore, be placed sometime in the eighth century A.D., preferably in its latter half. It shows also that Anaṅgahaṛṣa enjoyed a great reputation as a patron of fine arts, and probably of men of letters too, in his own life-time, something quite rare in those days; so much so that his fame reached the distant Kaśmīr in such a short time.

II. The *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣavardhana

Verses 880-928 of the *Kuṭṭānī-mata*²⁵ contain a graphic description of the enactment of the first act of the *Ratnāvalī*, and verse 926 is a verbatim reproduction of *Ratnāvalī*, I.24. The account is naturally brief and, to a certain extent modified,²⁶ but as observed by Keith, there is no doubt that "it was played exactly in accordance with the stage directions which have come down to us embedded in the text of the drama as we have it."²⁷ Although Dāmōdaragupta is taciturn about its authorship,²⁸ there exists abundant evidence, partly internal and partly external, to assure us that this play, like the other two plays, viz., the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī*, emanated from the pen of the royal author Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya who ruled over the kingdoms of Sthānviśvara and Kannauj in the first half of the seventh century A.D. (606-48). The unity of the authorship of all the three plays is

25. See verses 801-809 also.

26. Eg. The ideas contained in *Ratnāvalī*, I. 7, 10-11, 12, 13, 14, 17-18, 21 are either absent or considerably amended in the *Kuṭṭānī-mata*. Likewise, some stanzas in the relevant portion of the *Kuṭṭānī-mata* are quite original and not anticipated by anything contained in the *Ratnāvalī*. Cf. Vv. 889, 890-92, 895, 899-900. In some other places the ideas in the original are somewhat modified or elaborated. Cf. Vv. 901, 902, 908, 912-13, 916-17.

27. A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 368.

28. The contention of some scholars that Dāmōdaragupta ascribes the play to a king (Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 170; Nariman, Jackson and Ogden (Ed.), *Priyadarśikā*, Introduction, p. xli; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* (Varanasi 1937), p. 180) or to Harsha (S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 256) is not borne out by the text of the *Kuṭṭānī-mata*.

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evidenced by the occurrence of a common prologue attributing them to King Harṣadēva including a stanza speaking of Śrī-Harṣa as an accomplished poet,²⁹ repetition of two common stanzas in the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda*,³⁰ and of another in the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī*,³¹ and innumerable parallelisms as regards thought, situation, style, structure, diction and phrases. The common authorship of all the three plays conceded, the statement of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (671-95 A.D.), evidently referring to the *Nāgānanda*, viz., "King Śilāditya (i.e., Harṣa) versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana (Chinese 'Cloud-borne'), who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga. This version was set to music (literally, string and pipe). He had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting, and thus popularised it in his time,"³² conclusively proves Harsha Śilāditya's authorship of all the three dramas. No early authority seems to have entertained doubt about his claim to their authorship. But the statement of Mammaṭa that Dhāvaka (v.l. Bāṇa) received wealth from Śrī-Harṣa (*Śrī-Harṣ-āder=Dhāvaka* (v.l. Bāṇ) -*ādīnām=iva dhanam*, *Kāvya-prakāśa* on *Kārikā* 2) has led some commentators, belonging to the seventeenth century and thereabout, to impute sinister motives to Harṣa and suspect his claim to the authorship of the *Ratnāvalī*.³³ It has accordingly been averred by these later exegetes that Dhāvalaka composed the *Ratnāvalī* but allowed it to pass in the name of his royal patron Harṣa for pecuniary considerations.³⁴ But in view of the conclusive internal and external evidence on the point, noticed above, the allegation of these scholiasts,

29. *Ratnāvalī*, I.5; *Priyadarśikā*, I.3; *Nāgānanda*, I.

30. *Priyadarśikā*, III.3=*Nāgānanda*, IV.1; *Priyadarśikā*, III.10=*Nāgānanda*, I.14.

31. *Ratnāvalī*, IV.21=*Priyadarśikā*, IV.12.

32. J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (Oxford 1896). pp. 163-64.

33. Why the scholiasts chose the *Ratnāvalī* alone for calling Harsha's literary merits in question cannot be ascertained. But it was regarded as the best of the Harsha plays and is, therefore, cited by rhetoricians. It would appear, therefore, that by challenging his title to the authorship of this play they refused, though implicitly, to concede his claim as an author.

34. Some of the accusing commentators are Jayarāma, Vaidyanātha, Nāgoji and Paramānanda. Vide Nariman, Jackson and Ogden. (Ed.), *Priyadarśikā*, Introduction, p. xlvii.

who were removed from Harṣa by about a millennium, cannot be taken seriously, and there are no cogent reasons to doubt Harṣa's authorship of the *Ratnāvalī*, as of the other two plays.³⁵

This elaborate account of the performance of an act of the *Ratnāvalī*, it must be pointed out, is the earliest known reference to the play and indicates the great popularity enjoyed by it in the time of Dāmōdaragupta.³⁶

III. Bhāskaravarman

Verse 561 contains an interesting reference to a certain Bhāskaravarman. We are told that when Bhāskaravarman passed away, he was accompanied on the funeral pyre by his beloved who was unable to bear pangs of separation from her lover even though she was prevented from doing so by the King.³⁷ That Dāmōdaragupta

35. Bāṇa, it is interesting to note, eulogises Harsha's poetic talent which could hardly find expression in words and stresses his originality in composition, pouring forth, in art-poesy and in stories, a nectar unquaffed (from other sources). See *Harsha-charita* (Führer's edition with Sāṅketa commentary, BSS, Vol. LXVI, Bombay 1909), pp. 112, 121.

It has recently been suggested that Bāṇa has not only made a veiled allusion to the *Ratnāvalī* but actually modelled his *Harsha-charita* on his hero's comedy—the *Ratnāvalī*. Vide V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India* (Bombay 1966), pp. 39-43.

For a full discussion of the question of the authorship of the *Ratnāvalī* see C. K. Nariman, A. V. W. Jackson and Charles J. Ogden (Ed.), *Priyadarsikā* (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. X, New York 1923), Introduction, pp. xxxix-xlix, lxxvii-lxxxvi; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* (Varanasi 1937), pp. 180-87; A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama* (Oxford 1924), pp. 170-71.

36. The *Nāgānanda* is referred to by I-tsing as early as the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This play had a Buddhistic appeal and could not escape the notice of the discerning Chinese pilgrim who was on the lookout for everything appertaining his religion. And in the *Kuṭṭāni-mata* we find a vivid description of the performance of the *Ratnāvalī* showing its great popularity among the people. Thus, Harsha's plays became highly popular within a short time after their composition. The *Ratnāvalī* is undoubtedly the best of Harsha plays from the point of view of dramatic art, and its great popularity, especially among dancing girls, may have been due, at least partly, to its sexual appeal.

37. *Bhāskaravarmaṇi yāte sura-vasatiṃ vārit-āpi bhūpatinā/
Tad=duḥkham=asahamāṇa praviveśa vilāsinī dahanam// Kuṭṭāni-mata*, verse 561.

intended to represent Bhāskaravarman as a monarch is evidenced by the intervention of the ruling chief, who was evidently his successor. The identification of this Bhāskaravarman, however, poses a difficult problem which does not admit of a definite solution. It is worth mentioning in this connection that the poet has mentioned by name a number of personages to illustrate the treacherous character of a bawd (vv. 35-38), the selfless love of a courtesan (vv. 559-566) and the like;³⁸ but they are undoubtedly fictitious figures invented to exemplify various aspects of a courtesan's craft. Likewise, Bhāskaravarman in question may also have been an imaginary figure. Even if we are to regard him as a historical personage, it is not easy to identify him. The only Bhāskaravarman known to sober history is the homonymous King of Kāmārūpa who was a contemporary of Harṣavardhana and the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. There is nothing improbable in Dāmōdaragupta having heard of King Bhāskaravarman, especially so as he was thoroughly familiar with Harṣavardhana and his times.³⁹ That our poet was not averse to history is amply demonstrated by his valuable reference to King Anaṅgahaṛṣa discussed above. And the two Bhāskaravarmans are regarded as identical, this allusion supplies an interesting piece of information about the Kāmārūpa King so far not known from any other source. But in the absence of an independent decisive evidence on the point, the question must be left open.⁴⁰

IV. Arab Invasion

The eighth century of the Christian era is memorable in Indian history as it witnessed a spate of Arab raids in different parts of

38. Vide also verses 331-67, 743-55.

39. This is indicated by the account of the performance of the *Ratnāvalī* noticed above.

40. P. C. Chaudhury (*The History of Civilization of the People of Assam to the twelfth century A.D.* (Gauhati 1959), p. 348) regards the identification as extremely doubtful, for Bhāskaravarman of Assam is known to have remained a celibate throughout his life. B. N. Shastri (Is Bhāskaravarman, the King of Kāmārūpa, referred to in Kuṭṭanī-mata of Dāmōdaragupta?, *Summaries of Papers*, All-India Oriental Conference, XXIII Session, p. 117) concludes that Bhāskaravarman as referred to in the *Kuṭṭanī-mata* is not a historical figure. I am thankful to Shri B. N. Shastri for having kindly sent me a typescript of his interesting paper which is yet to be published.

Northern and Western India. Although the Arabs had been harbouring covetous designs against India and had carried out several raids earlier,⁴¹ their first notable success was the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad-ibn-Qasim in A.D. 708. Thereafter they raided a number of localities in North-Western India, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Malwa, Gujarat and Kashmir. Lalitāditya Mukatāpīḍa (circa 724-60 A.D.), the celebrated King of Kaśmīr, probably inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslim marauders.⁴² Dāmodaragupta, who became the Chief Minister of Kashmir shortly afterwards, could not have remained indifferent to these facts of contemporary history and he shows his acquaintance with the constitution of the Arab forces when he points out that the strength of the Turuṣkas lay primarily in their cavalry (*Turuṣka-sēn-eva bahula-gandharvā*, verse 10).

V. Kedara, a coin denomination

Verse 606 of our work mentions a coin called *kedara*. *Kedara* as a monetary denomination is unknown from any other source; but there can be little doubt that it referred to the coins of ancient Kaśmīr which were copied from the gold and base gold coins of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas. Like the gold coins of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas, the Toramāṇa copper coins, gold and silver coins of Pravarasēna II, gold coins of Narendrāditya and the copper and electrum coins of all the Karkoṭaka Kings from Durlabhaka to Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya bear, as a rule, the word *kidāra* or its abbreviations (*kida*, *ki* or *ke*) under the left arm of the standing King on the obverse.⁴³ The name Kidāra reminds us of the originator of this type of coins, the Kuṣāṇa chief Kidāra. It is evidently these Karkoṭa coins which were known as *kedara*. It is instructive to note in this connection that Jayāpīḍa was the last ruler of Kaśmīr on whose

41. R. C. Majumdar & A. D. Pusalkar (Ed.) *The Classical Age*, pp. 167, 169.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 134, 173-174. Earlier, in 713 A.D., king Chandrāpīḍa of Kashmir had asked for the help of the Chinese Emperor against the Arabs who, under Muhammad-ibn-Qasim, had reached the frontiers of Kashmir about this time. Though the Chinese Emperor did not oblige him, Chandrāpīḍa succeeded in defending his kingdom unaided. See *ibid.*, p. 132.

43. For these coins see Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, Pl. III; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 268-69.

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monetary issues we come across the word *Kidāra* or its abbreviations.⁴⁴

We have discussed above the valuable historical data furnished by the *Kuṭṭanī-mata* of Dāmodaragupta. Apropos, it may be mentioned that this information serves to corroborate the date (i.e., late 8th-early 9th century A.D.) of Dāmodaragupta as deduced from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. The impression of the great popularity of Harṣavardhana's *Ratnāvalī* given by the *Kuṭṭanī-mata* and the possible reference to King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa show in a general way that our poet could not have flourished much earlier than the beginning of the 8th century A.D. His awareness of the Arab raids would indicate that he cannot be placed before the middle of the 8th century A.D. And the reference to the *kedara* coins supplies the lower limit for the flourishing period of the poet. As we have shown above, the word *kidāra* and its abbreviations are not to be found on the coins of the successors of Jayāpiḍa Vinayāditya. This would lead us to the inevitable conclusion that Dāmōdaragupta could not have lived long after the reign of Jayāpiḍa.

44. For a full discussion of the numismatic references contained in the *Kuṭṭanī-mata* see my paper to be published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXX.

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Indian Influence on Kenya's Nyanza Province 1900—1925

BY

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During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Indian contributions in Nyanza Province were vital to the economic evolution of western Kenya. The value of Indians to the East Africa Protectorate has been a subject of contention among several authors, but specific reference to Nyanza is sketchily outlined or completely neglected. The most thorough work on the economic growth of Nyanza has been written by Hugh Fearn, and although he included studies as early as 1903, he gave little attention to the true importance of Indians during the first decades of this century. While other works relating to the Indians in East Africa are general in their approach, this analysis presents Nyanza Province as a case study. It is imperative to place the Indian in focus with his African surroundings and assess his prominence in the development of Nyanza. The first twenty-five years of this century are of prime importance because it was during this period that western Kenya emerged from a subsistence to a fully developed economy.¹

The first Indians arrived in East Africa centuries before the first Europeans and became established in various enterprises along the coast. Many were bankers, moneylenders, or retailers

1. On April 1, 1902, the Eastern Province of Uganda Protectorate was ceded to the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya) and was renamed Kisumu Province. In October 1909 Kisumu Province was renamed Nyanza Province.

Hugh Fearn, *An African Economy, A Study of the Economic Developments of the Nyanza Province of Kenya, 1903-1953* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

The outstanding works on Indians in East Africa are:

George Delf, *Asians in East Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963); and Lawrence W. Hollingsworth, *The Asians of East Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960).

in all the larger towns. Ambitious Indian traders ventured inland, but the Africans ably survived by subsistence farming and turned to trade only when crops failed or disease killed their cattle. Even then, help was often obtained by kinship ties.² Trade as a form of business was introduced "as a result of demands of the outside world," and by the mid-1880's, Alidina Visram organized a series of trading stations in Uganda.³ As the British strengthened their control in the interior of Kenya, many dealers established business at government stations. Trading sites located at administrative posts resulted in the majority of goods being purchased by Europeans, but Indian traders were content with this limited retailing because the station provided protection for their *dukas*. As the Uganda Railway extended, many merchants instituted markets at the railheads and hoped to tap the virgin African market. By 1901 when the Railway reached Lake Victoria, Visram's trading empire totalled approximately 170 *dukas*.⁴ A *duka* built near the railway had access to a ready clientele, but Indian perseverance was required since the government charged an annual rental fee of 150 rupees, and monthly profits were seldom more than 15 rupees.⁵

A misunderstanding of the Indian population in Kenya has often resulted from the false assumption that a majority are descendants of coolie labourers who worked on the Uganda Railway. When the railway was completed, some of the Indians that helped on the railway returned to India: "the number of indentured labourers who stayed in East Africa was only 6,724," yet almost 32,000 Indians were involved in the construction.⁶ Many who settled in Nyanza Province became artisans, cultivated small farms, or earned a living as traders. Most coolie workers were Punjabis, but the present Indian population in Kenya stems from the merchant and upper peasant classes of Gujerat (north of Bombay),

2. Fearn, p. 107.

3. Delf, p. 3.

4. Shanti Pandit, ed., *Asians in East and Central Africa* (Nairobi: Panco Publications, 1963), p. 49.

5. Fearn, p. 103.

6. Vincent Harlow and E. M. Chilver, eds., *History of East Africa*, II (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 226; and Hollingsworth, pp. 47-48.

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and along the coast to Cutch, and their migration to Kenya was sporadic.'

The Indians' influence on East Africa deserves emphasis. Their most conspicuous service was the initiation and amplification of a retail economy. Trading led to expansion in other areas which must be credited to the Indian merchants. Indians introduced a money system to carry on transactions; East Africa used the rupee system until the conclusion of World War I rather than English pounds and shillings. In addition to providing the basis for the Kenyan currency, Indians were directly responsible for creating cash crops in place of subsistence farming. The British government constructed roads and bridges for use by ox-carts, which aided in opening the interior, since several trading posts had been inaccessible to Africans who transported heavy loads by hand. Once the African understood the basics of pecuniary society, he accepted manufactured goods and occasionally entered the retail business in competition with Indians.

The development of trade in Nyanza was a gradual process and did not involve drastic immigration of Indians into the area. The number of *dukas*, as well as the Indian population in any district or trading centre of the province fluctuated from season to season and year to year. In 1907, Kericho District Commissioner H. R. Tata reported that "trade in Kericho is gradually increasing.... there are at present 14 shopkeepers...and the number of Indian traders is daily on the increase," yet in 1913 the total Indian population of Kericho was only forty-six.⁸ New *dukas* were often due to competitions among various Indian traders: the larger merchants felt compelled to locate in any site a small trader establish a shop. In 1909 G. A. S. Northcote, D. C. of Kisii, observed the actions of the "established" merchants when he stated "the two representatives of Manji Khanji and Ibrahim Kassim who are here, inform me...that they all wish to build branches at Homa

7. Harlow and Chilver, p. 226.

8. Kisumu Province Annual Report, 1906-07, Kenya National Archives, Microfilm, Sec. I, Reel 32, p. 23; and Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1912-13, Sec. I, Reel 33, p. 18. All microfilms cited are from the Kenya National Archives collection and were consulted at the Syracuse University Library.

Bay in addition to keeping on their shops at Karungu."⁹ In 1911, Kisii Commissioner, C. W. Dobbs noted "the multiplication of trading centres is not looked on with much favour by the larger Indian traders...because as the bulk of the trade is increased it necessitates having branches at all the different sites."¹⁰

The district records are indices of trade fluctuations, denoting shops opened or abandoned in the previous quarter or year. During 1923 South Kavirondo trade was "good throughout the year...six new shops...opened and a number which had closed...resumed business."¹¹ Markets were not always adequate however, and the six trading centres in North Kavironda which in 1917 and 1918 had 106 shops run by Indians, were reduced to 88 *dukas* by 1919 as a result of crop failures.¹² When conditions were optimum, the number of additional stalls that would open was unpredictable. In some reporting periods six new marts were founded, in other reports, ten or more Indians received plots to establish a *duka*.¹³ In 1913 District Commissioner D. R. Crampton of South Kavirondo stated "trading centres are established at Kendu, Oyugi's, Karungu, Mirogi River, Rungwe, Riana Rive, Suna and North Mugirango...all these centres do a large trade."¹⁴ Local commissioners often mentioned additional commerce, but neglected to credit the Indians. The March 1913 quarterly report from Kisumu exemplified this; H. B. Partington simply stipulated trade was brisk and increasing. Who owned the various shops? The Indian population was 993, and it may be assumed they played a vital role in the township's trade.¹⁵ The following table indicates the overwhelming Indian dominance of trade in South Kavirondo during 1913-14¹⁶

9. Kisii Quarterly Report, June 30, 1909 Sec. I, Reel 37, pp. 1-2.
10. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1911, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 4.
11. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1924, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 11.
12. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1917-18, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 21; and *Ibid.*, 1919-20, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 22.
13. Naandi District Quarterly Report, March 31, 1910, Sec. I, Reel 30, pp. 10-11; and Kisii Quarterly Report, March 9, 1912, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 18.
14. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1912-13, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 8.
15. Kisumu Quarterly Report, March 31, 1913, Sec. I, Reel 40, c. p. 11.
16. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1913-14, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 7.

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Ovugis Trading Centre :

7 plots leased to Indians — 5 shops built.

Mirogi Trading Centre :

4 plots leased to Indians

5 plots occupied on temporary occupation
licence by Indians

Riana Trading Centre :

18 plots occupied on temporary occupation
licence by Indians4 plots occupied on temporary occupation
licence by Goans

Rungwe Trading Centre :

18 plots leased to Indians

1 plot leased to Goan

Kendu Trading Centre :

5 plots leased to Indians — 5 shops built

1 plot leased to Goan — 1 shop built

5 plots leased to Arabs — 4 shops built

Kisii Township :

2 plots leased to Indians — 2 shop built

2 plots leased to Goans — not occupied

Homa Bay Township :

17 plots leased to Indians

Karungu Township :

18 plots occupied on temporary occupation
licence by Indians4 plots occupied on temporary occupation
licence by Goans

By 1919-20 Indian occupation of small shops and bazaars reached over 200, compared with two European and one African establishment.¹⁷

The major criticism of Indian bazaars was their insanitary condition. In 1925 Commissioner W. R. G. Campbell of South Kavirondo described the Kisii Bazaar as consisting of "dirty and untidy tin shanties which however the Medical Officer visits re-

17. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1919-20, Sec. I, Reel 33, p. 29.

gularly and endeavours to keep clean as possible."¹⁸ Trying to maintain health standards in the bazaar was a perennial problem to the British. As early as 1907 Commissioner Tate had reported the "Lumbwa Bazaar was a conglomeration of filthy Indian shanties packed together in a small space near the Railway Station."¹⁹ Julian Huxley flayed the bazaar when he wrote "the Indian in Africa, for all his ancient civilization, is dirtier than the African. He is more insanitary when left to himself; and he is so bound by tradition and superstition that he is more difficult to persuade into change." Huxley indiscriminately stated that "the negroes are willing to learn and have a natural barbaric cleanliness; the Indians do not want to change any of their ways and combine an ancient civilization with squalor"²⁰ A foreign standard cannot always be forced on others with success, but in 1918 E. J. Waddington noted in the North Kavirondo Annual Report that "the Indian Bazaar is kept in a clean condition by the Indian merchants."²¹ Most of the bazaars and *duka* plots were leased on a temporary basis, at a price too high for their return, and to erect "permanent buildings" would have been beyond the economic reach of many shopkeepers; here lay the enigma.

Although local administrators were dissatisfied with the "condition" of bazaars, they were pleased with the items offered for sale or trade by the merchants. The Indian retailer brought western goods into Nyanza. In 1909 Commissioner John Ainsworth described the articles as consisting of "cloth, wire, blankets, knives [sic], umbrellas, caps, helmets, second hand clothing, beads and pipes. There is an increasing demand for shirts...and Khaki clothing, and also folding chairs, and most strange to relate, safety pins are somewhat in demand as an ornament...The Kavirondo are known generally as a naked race; it is however, surprising that a large number have begun to clothe themselves even within the last year."²² Fez caps, kerosene, tools, enamelware, and bicycles were also in great demand. Most of these imported items did not

18. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1925, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 17.

19. Kisumu Province Annual Report, 1906-07, Sec. I, Reel 32, p. 5.

20. Julian Huxley, *African View* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1931), pp. 26, 162.

21. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1917-18, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 7.

22. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1908-09, Sec. I, Reel 32, p. 30.

come from Great Britain; cloth from America or Bombay, blankets from Holland, umbrellas from India or England, enamelware from Germany and Austria, and beads from Italy.²³ The Africans traded their cattle, hides, or crops in exchange for western goods.

The indigenous population of Nyanza parted with the livestock only in emergencies. In 1908 when the British initiated a new hut tax on the local inhabitants, it became necessary to sell cattle to pay the levy. Commissioner Dobbs noted, "there has been a large trade in cattle during the quarter, many hundreds having been sold by the natives in order to procure rupees to pay hut tax."²⁴ Considerable trade in stock was transacted along the Anglo-German border where, as Crompton stated, "prices rule considerably less than elsewhere. Without a doubt a great deal of cattle thus brought is smuggled in." Legal exportation of cattle from Tanganyika was costly, on account of a 20 rupee export tax on bulls and illegal exportation of cows.²⁵ Since the majority of traders in the Nyanza-Tanganyika border were Asians, District officers believed the Indians were involved in criminal dealings, although evidence to prove the theory was lacking. This illegal cattle trade enabled the Indian (assuming he was implicated) to make a profit, and allowed the African to maintain the size of his herds.

Traffic in hides was a common practice because of the high fatality among Nyanza cattle. Africans were willing to sell hides, and in some years skins accounted for the major export of the province. From 1904-07, Kisumu records indicate a negligible export of foodstuffs or other African produce, yet hides increased in export value from 910 rupees to 4,680 rupees.²⁶ Occasionally buffalo hides were imported, much to the chagrin of local administrators. In 1912 Commissioner Crompton stated the government position: "Among the Jaluo the demand for buffalo skins to make shields, continues to increase and it is even stated that Indian traders intend to export skins from India to meet the demand. So long as we discourage the carrying of arms by natives, I do not think we

23. *Ibid.*, 1910-11, Sec. I, Reel 32, p. 39.

24. Kisii Quarterly Report, Jan. 5, 1909, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 7.

25. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1912-13, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 26.

26. Kisumu Province Annual Report, 1906-07, Sec. I, Reel 32, c. p. 107.

are justified in allowing this trade in buffalo skins to continue."²⁷ Although the market in local cattle was prolific, the main items for exchange were "native products."²⁸

Prior to 1907, the bulk of African grown produce was locally consumed, and the major items exported from the province were hides, skins, and ivory. A severe drought plagued Nyanza in 1907, causing famine in Kisumu and "necessitated the importation... of maize and beans, thus beginning the cultivation of those crops in Kavirondo."²⁹ In 1908 sim-sim seed was introduced in Kisii, and agricultural exchange increased rapidly because of the willingness of Indians to accept produce in exchange for western items. An export total of 60 tons in 1908 rose to over 28,000 tons by 1912.³⁰ In July 1908 Kisii Commissioner Hemsted observed "the natives have planted much more extensively than in former years... They also realise that there is now a certain market for their produce."³¹ Hemsted further noted that the Africans who grew crops for export "got practically the whole of their hut tax ready in this way," by selling produce to the Indian trader.³² The Kisii were the best cultivators in Nyanza and continually impressed local administrators with their agricultural prowess and business-like attitude. After its introduction, sim-sim became a very important product, and with groundnuts added to the income of the area. In his report for 1909, Dobbs showed the importance of the Indian: "Quite a lot of simsim and groundnuts have been bought by the Indians—an agreement has been made with the... shop-keepers here [Kisii] by which about 700... tins of groundnuts have been bought from the natives for redistribution as seed, the Indians receiving a small commission to recompense them for the trouble."³³ The government was grateful to the Indian merchant because his presence "obviates the many difficulties attendant on government

27. Kisii Quarterly Report, July 7, 1912, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 2.

28. Kisii and South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1907-08, Sec. I, Reel 37, page 6.

29. Victor C. R. Ford, *The Trade of Lake Victoria* (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1955), p. 22.

30. *Ibid.*, and Kisii Quarterly Report, July 5, 1908, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 5.

31. Kisii Quarterly Report, July 5, 1908, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 4.

32. *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1908, Sec. I, Reel 37, pp. 5-6.

33. *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1909, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 4.

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buying directly from the natives," and because he provided the Africans with the cash to pay his hut tax.³⁴

The opening of trade centres created an opportunity for the African to possess coinage, and he continued efforts to make the land productive. In 1910 Kisumu District Commissioner R. G. Farrant reported "during the past quarter the trade has not been brisk as the natives have been busy planting their crops;" when crops were harvested most of the yield was "sold principally for the purpose of raising the necessary rupees for Hut Tax."³⁵ Africans understood the value of coins they often hoarded their rupees and there was "a mine of wealth in this country to the Trader who opens his eyes to the great possibilities."³⁶ By 1912, the Kisii had planted more than ever before, and the young men, who had previously refrained from working on farms, were seen cultivating the fields. The possibility of obtaining cash with which to purchase desired western goods, prompted the African to dismiss past working traditions. As the Indian accepted surplus African crops, British efforts to expand productivity met with success. In 1913 Crompton noted "the Kavirondo while not such industrious cultivators as the Kisii, have nevertheless, responded to our efforts and there is now a very much larger area of land under cultivation than has ever been the case in the past."³⁷

On account of the Indian buyer, in addition to increasing total acreage under cultivation, the African experimented with new crops and methods. In 1912 the principal crops grown for export were simsim, groundnuts, maize, and linseed.³⁸ Onions were introduced during World War I but the African slowly learned to cure them, "With the result that their market is limited; the Indian traders not wishing to buy large stocks which go bad in their hands."³⁹ The Indians readily purchased less perishable items. Rice, introduced during the war, proved of good quality, "and the local Indians are prepared to buy as much as planted for two or three years to

34. *Ibid.*

35. Kisumu Quarterly Report, June 30, 1910, Sec. I, Reel 40, p. 7; and *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1909, Sec. I, Reel 40, p. 14.

36. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1911-12, Sec. I, Reel 32, pp. 7-8.

37. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1912-13, Sec. I, Reel 37; p. 4.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

39. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1917-18, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 28.

come."⁴⁰ Crops during 1920-21 were exceptionally fine, but because of the world-wide depression, "the huge grain crops grown by the natives... could not be disposed of except at very poor prices," and many merchants were forced out of business.⁴¹ Realising that the Indian shopkeeper was willing to grant credit and risk his investment in Nyanza, many African farmers turned to westernized mechanization. In 1923 Commissioner S. O. U. Hodge noticed "a pleasing feature has been the increased tendency of natives to train oxen to the plough, and in the course of the year, several chiefs and headmen have obtained ploughs, and others are making enquiries."⁴²

In addition to promoting agricultural production by establishing small shops in trading centres, and remote areas, Indians invested in other businesses and farms. During 1912 a flour mill was started near Kendu by an Indian and an application for another mill was submitted in Kisii township. The mills were water powered, used primarily for grinding maize, and in full operation within one year. In 1916 another Indian enterprise opened in the province; a sim-sim oil mill at Kibos, run by a representative of Visram.⁴³ Originally formed in 1903, the Kibos Indian Settlement consisted of 47 farms owned by individuals and companies, and covered an area of 1900 acres by 1913. Farm plots were leased by the government from two to 99 years, and the chief crops were maize and sugar cane. In addition to Kibos, Indian farming settlements were established at Kibigoni and Muhoroni, with corn the principal product. A great deal of the maize was sold for local consumption, but a considerable amount of seed was distributed to the African farmers for use on their land.⁴⁴ In some instances, therefore, the Indians provided Africans with the tools, seeds, and information for agriculture, and then purchased what the Africans grew.

40. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1922, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 26.

41. Kisumu Annual Report, 1920-21, Sec. I, Reel 40, pp. 22, 26.

42. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1923, Sec. I, Reel 35, p. 31.

43. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1912-13, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 27; and *Ibid.*, 1913-14, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 26; and Kisumu Annual Report, 1916-17, Sec. I, Reel 40, p. 18.

44. Kisumu Quarterly Report, Mar. 31, 1913, Sec. I, Reel 40, c. pp. 31-33; and Kisumu Annual Report, 1920-21, Sec. I, Reel 40, p. 25.

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The actual cash value of goods bought and sold in Nyanza was often difficult to determine. As early as 1909, Dobbs wrote "a good deal has been bought by the Indians.... I was unable at present to give the exact figures."⁴⁵ In 1920 Commissioner H. R. Montgomery reported "no figures of the value of imports and exports are given as the only ones that could be obtained are unreliable and misleading; they would have to be given by the Indian merchants themselves."⁴⁶ It was not common practice for the business man to divulge the intricacies of his trade. It was the function of British officials to compile such records, if detailed accounts relating to imports and exports were desired.

On occasions government records were kept at the various ports on Lake Victoria. Trade value within the Province was not given, but a yearly study of prices, imports and exports, coupled with railway transactions, could have produced a conceivable trade relationship. Unfortunately customs house records were not satisfactory, and in some years were not maintained. In 1909 exports from Kisii District "must have exceeded 500 tons and there is also a large export of skins,"⁴⁷ but no official figures are available. The provincial report for 1909-10 indicated the value of European and Indian produce placed on railway at 13,684 rupees and 15,488 rupees respectively; African produce was neglected. Commencing in 1910, accurate accounts were kept by customs; 1909-10 value of exports from Kisii was 205,387 rupees; the imports during the first quarter of 1911 were 285 tons and exports were over 1,000 tons in Kisii; 1912 imports into Homa Port totalled 388 tons compared to 489 tons in 1913; and exports from the same centre increased from 1,501 tons in 1912 to 1,515 tons in 1913.⁴⁸ The principal items of trade included hides, maize, sim-sim, and groundnuts, whereas imports primarily involved cloth, sundries, tobacco, blankets, bicycles, and salt.⁴⁹ During 1914-19 no import and export statistics were com-

45. Kisii Quarterly Report, Jan. 5, 1909, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 7.

46. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1919-20, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 21.

47. Kisii Quarterly Report, June 30, 1909, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 3.

48. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1909-10, Sec. I, Reel 32, c. p. 11; and Kisii Quarterly Report, Apr. 4, 1910, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 286; and *Ibid.*, Apr. 24, 1911, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 12; and *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1912, Sec. I, Reel 37, pp. 8-10; and South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1912-13, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 33.

49. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1917-18, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 24.

piled because of staff shortage resulting from the war effort. When records were gathered in 1920, exports were only a third of the 1913 tonnage, while their value was half again as great.⁵⁰ More produce was being traded and consumed locally, and not included in import-export figures. District purchasing power was enhanced when the government realized the necessity for road construction, which enabled the Indian to reach remote areas, and permitted the African easier transport of his goods.

The greatest 'stumbling blocks' to trade in Nyanza according to Commissioner Hemsted in 1907-08, were a lack of proper transport and storage facilities.⁵¹ The completion of the railway line from Mombasa to Lake Victoria enabled goods traffic to begin on January, 15, 1902,⁵² yet as late as 1908 proper warehousing had still not been secured for the traders. Hemsted believed store-houses should be built since 'inland and itinerant traders cannot be expected to leave their goods on the Lake Shore to await a dhow or steamer to remove them unless they have a place for their proper storage.' Taking the initiative, Hemsted authorized the erection of waterfront storage buildings, and in 1908 construction of a pier was begun at Homa Bay to make the port an important point of call for lake steamers and the railway.⁵³

Since virtually all trade was in the hands of Indians by 1908,⁵⁴ it is apparent that the presence of the trader led to the creation of adequate transportation within the province. For the African to reach any of the trading centres, "the most important facility which can be given by the government would be roads," commented Hemsted. "The future of the district," he continued, "lies in its being connected by roads for trade purposes." Trading stations were often located too far for Africans to carry their produce and Hemsted recommended "that five trading locations should be erected at different points in the district," at crossings of newly con-

50. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1919-20, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 19.

51. Kisii Annual Report, 1907-08, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 6.

52. Ford., p. 19.

53. Kisii Annual Report, 1907-08, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 7; and Kisii Quarterly Report, July 5, 1908, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 6.

54. Kisumu Province Annual Report, 1908-09, Sec. I, Reel 32, p. 30.

structed roads.⁵⁵ Proper location of centres was paramount because "a native will not take his produce to the market unless he can go and return the same day."⁵⁶ The willingness of Indians to locate in any part of the Province was, therefore, significant in the increase of trade sites. The principal means of transport was human carriage, and in 1909 there was only one road in Kisumu District capable of handling wheeled traffic. As a result of this inadequate conveyance system, about 75% of the grain remained unsold 'as natives will not carry grain more than a few miles to market,' and Hemsted insisted that 'the establishment of additional trading stations or the construction of roads will shortly remedy this.'⁵⁷

In 1910 Africans, under the direction of the British, began to construct cart roads to make trading centres and the railway more accessible. As the Africans built new byways, the Indians opened additional trading stations, and the British hoped "that by bringing trade to their doors where Africans hitherto traded little an improvement may set in."⁵⁸ By 1914 Indian owned carts called *kalami* had replaced human portage, but "it still took up to two months to reach from the coast...to the shores of Lake Victoria—a distance of six hundred miles."⁵⁹ *Kalami* were used for long distance hauling because of the exorbitant railway rates. Although the First World War impeded trade, road construction continued. In 1920 Commissioner Montgomery announced "there is an excellent net-work of roads capable of taking light motor traffic,"⁶⁰ although as late as 1925 ox-carts were still the major form of inland freight carrier.

Indian merchants were indirectly responsible for the creation of a net-work of roads, but they were directly accountable for the emergence of the African into private enterprise. Prior to World War I, African business was negligible; by 1925 it was a reality. In 1924 Hemsted observed, "it is encouraging to see the number

55. Quarterly Report on Nandi Station, Dec. 31, 1909, Sec. I, Reel 30, pp. 21, 24.

56. Kisii Quarterly Report, Oct. 5, 1908, Sec. I, Reel 37, pp. 5-6.

57. Quarterly Report on Nandi Station, Dec. 31, 1909, p. 17.

58. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1910-11 Sec. I, Reel 32, p. 14.

59. Pandit, p. 50.

60. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1919-20, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 19.

of shops opened by Natives in Central and North Kavirondo.... most of the shops are small and not well equipped but a start has been made. They obtain their goods from wholesale merchants," who are Indian and "aparently are given fair terms."⁶¹ Most Africans who opened commercial establishments had prior training while working as field representatives for the Indians, but the African shops could not be regarded as serious competitors to the Indians because they were too few, too small, and understocked. Nevertheless, by 1924 there were forty African *dukas* in North Kavirondo.⁶² African trade was often regulated by Indians: the Indian financed the African markets.⁶³ Perhaps the most successful indigenous venture during this period was the co-operative shop with advice from the European staff. By creating a joint effort, Africans presented prices below Indian traders', and maintained a meagre profit.⁶⁴

Once the Indian merchant was established in Nyanza, he was rarely challenged by serious outside competition. During 1906-08, several Indian, Arab, Nubian, Swahili, and Somali traders entered the area, but their combined capital was inadequate to create a sizable business. By the end of 1909, ten Europeans had secured a trade monopoly in Nandi Station, but within six months, with the exception of the large Nandi Trading Syndicate (which did control a great deal of trade), all other Europeans had been forced out by the invading Indians.⁶⁵ By 1912 in South Kavirondo, most trade was under Indian control, and except for Max Klein and Company, Europeans were entirely unrepresented. After 1918 when Klein was ousted by the Enemy Property Act, all business in South Kavirondo was dominated by the Indians.⁶⁶ The Europeans conceded to the Indians' acumen. An Indian was hired to manage the Nandi Syndicate, and after 1911 European shops were absent in Nandi.⁶⁷ Perhaps the greatest competitor of the Indian

61. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1924, Sec. I, Reel 33, pp. 31-32.

62. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1924, Sec. I, Reel 35, p. 8.

63. Pandit, p. 54.

64. Huxley, p. 150.

65. Quarterly Report on Nandi Station, Dec. 31, 1909, p. 20; and Nandi Quarterly Report, June 30, 1910, Sec. I, Reel 30, p. 8.

66. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1912-13, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 28; and Kisumu Annual Report, 1918-19, Sec. I, Reel 40, p. 26.

67. Nandi Annual Report, 1921-22, Sec. I, Reel 30, p. 4.

merchant was his fellow countryman since he often employed methods with which European could not compete. His limited needs and ability to subsist in virtual poverty enabled the Indian to dominate trade; creating profit which was frequently forwarded to his family in India.⁶⁸

Competition was only one obstacle the Indian encountered in Nyanza. African reaction to some traders and their business ethics caused bloodshed on several occasions. In July 1901, an Indian trader was murdered; during August of the same year Indian merchants travelling in Kakamega were robbed by Africans; and in September 1901 several traders were captured and never heard from again. Looting of Indian shops was officially noted in 1908, and in 1910 an Indian trader was murdered by the indigenous people.⁶⁹ More detrimental to trade than hostility, however, were occasional periods of drought.

Insufficient rain meant crop failure, possible famine, and a void in marketable African goods. During 1906 Kisumu was plagued by an extensive dry spell; crops failed, business was bad, and several Indian "shopkeepers went bankrupt due to overstocking in anticipation of trade which did not come up to their expectations."⁷⁰ Undaunted, many Indians forced out of business one year, returned the next, showing a determination which aided the economic development of the province. The year 1918 was devastating for trade. Out of 106 Indian traders, 44 declared bankruptcy as a result of crop failure in North Kavirondo, and during the following year trade was virtually at a standstill.⁷¹ Since business was a seasonal operation, sharp deviations from expected climatic occurrence created hardships for the Indian shopkeeper.

World War I provided an unparalleled economic calamity for the Indian in Nyanza. The year 1913 was prosperous for the

68. Fearn, pp. 112-14.

69. Nyanza Political Record Book, "History of the District," Sec. II, Reel 12, p. 14; and Nyanza Political Record Book, "History of Wakayo," Sec. II, Reel 12, p. 2; and Kisii Political Record Book, 1910-11, "Kitutu," Sec. II, Reel 6 (c), p. 1.

70. Kisumu Annual Report, 1906-07, Sec. I, Reel 32, c. p. 38.

71. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1918-19, Sec. I, Reel 34, p. 7; and Nandi Annual Report, 1918-19, Sec. I, Reel 30, p. 3.

trader when "over 30,000 English hoes have been sold in the district Kisumu," and the area was on the verge of becoming a large contributor to European markets in both imports and exports.⁷² The following year the Indian's growing business was wiped out. A consequence of the war was disruption of trade and "the virtual closing of all markets...had extremely bad results."⁷³ During the war, imports slackened, the African was forced to pay high prices, his produce sold at low levels, and trading reached a standstill.

With the end of the war, the Indians gradually recouped their losses, but postwar depression and an untimely animal quarantine placed their business in greater peril. The world wide depression of 1920 almost halted trade in Nyanza, and the Indian retailers crept "nearer and nearer to total insolvency and in many cases found real difficulty paying their rents and license fees."⁷⁴ Premature optimism was prevalent in 1921 and 1922, but in 1923 shops again closed on account of a veterinary quarantine. Oxen used to pull carts were prohibited from leaving inspected areas, and trade declined to less than 15% of pre-cattle isolation days.⁷⁵ The restrictions on stock continued into 1924 when Commissioner Hodge of North Kavirondo noted a number of shops beginning to be closed and "the closing of *dukas* at Malakisi and Mumias."⁷⁶ Nevertheless, by 1925, after drought, famine, war, depression, and quarantine had confronted him, the Indian again mastered nearly the entire trade of Nyanza and kept the area economically in contact with the outside world.

British administrators and those interested in East Africa often noted the value of Indians to Kenya. The Royal African Society in 1911-12 reported that "these petty traders introduced... a great civilising influence amongst the primitive savages."⁷⁷ "It is the Indian Trader," wrote Winston Churchill, "who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white

72. Kisumu Annual Report, 1913-14, Sec. I, Reel 40, pp. 15-17.

73. South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1914-15, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 8.

74. *Ibid.*, 1920-21, Sec. I, Reel 37, p. 22.

75. Nandi Annual Report, 1922-23, Sec. I, Reel 135, pp. 5-6.

76. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1923, Sec. I, Reel 35, pp. 5-6.

77. E. H. Sadler, "Notes on the Geography of British East Africa," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. II, 1911-12, p. 186.

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man would go...has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade."⁷⁸ The Indians according to Alex Johnston, went "far and wide with their wares, and have been a great boon to the country, especially to the natives."⁷⁹ The Indian in the words of Commissioner Ainsworth fostered "increased industry of natives...improved their attitude to aliens, and...brought considerable wealth to the people."⁸⁰ Sir John Kirk was most adamant in declaring Indians' worth to East Africa when he said if the Indians were ever forced out of Kenya, "they might as well shut up the Protectorate." It was the Indian, Kirk realized, who "by supplying things at a moderate rate and a moderate profit," kept prices at a reasonable level.⁸¹

Although most Indians were not wealthy, their greatest accomplishment was the development of a monetary economy. The British were able to collect taxes, fees, and fines effortlessly because of the money which entered the province through the trader. As early as 1909, Commissioner Northcote stated that the yearly revenue from market fees should exceed 650 rupees, and as more shops opened, the government expected to collect greater amounts.⁸² In 1910 money "circulated most freely in most places," wrote Ainsworth, "and as a consequence the revenue collections have surpassed all previous records."⁸³ In 1923 Hodge noted "that one of the most encouraging features...has been the increased amount of money that has found its way into the North Kavirondo District...tax this year has come in well...and I consider that it is due to the amount of money brought into the District...by trade."⁸⁴

The Indians through their shrewdness, industry, and thrift survived in Nyanza. Their small *duka* aided development of hinterlands and became the core of economic growth in the province.

78. Winston S. Churchill, *My African Journey*, (London Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), pp. 49-50.

79. Alex Johnston, "The Colonization of British East Africa," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 5, 1905-06, p. 34.

80. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1911-12, Sec. I, Reel 32, p. 45.

81. Hollingsworth, p. 54.

82. Kisii Quarterly Report, Dec. 31, 1909, Sec. I, Reel 37, c. p. 14.

83. Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1910-11, Sec. I, Reel 32, pp. 2-3.

84. North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1923, Sec. I, Reel 35, pp. 1, 8.

They provided countless western items for sale and enabled the Africans to create a cash crop economy. They were unhurried businessmen, and "while the Europeans had not time to wait, the Indian carried on his trade patiently,"⁸⁵ initiating and maintaining a rupee economy. The Indian shopkeeper had to face an apathetic administration, and was forced to deal with poor transport, inadequate storage, distant suppliers, and other difficulties that would have discouraged a less ambitious person. His skills and aptitudes were needed in Nyanza; in reciprocity Nyanza offered the Indian economic opportunity. The Indian made a significant and continual contribution to the economic development of western Kenya.

85. Pandit, p. 51.

The Siege of Chitral as an Imperial Factor

BY

AKIHIRO KANAMORI

In March of 1895, a small contingent of 300 British Indian soldiers under the command of Dr. George Robertson was besieged in the fortress of Chitral, a post so remote that few in Britain or even in India ever heard of it. Yet, the subsequent relief of the beleaguered garrison was to become a *cause celebre* in Calcutta and London, and the course of these dramatic events was to prompt a complete re-examination of frontier policy in those northern reaches of the Indian sub-continent where the borders of Russia, China, Afghanistan and British India came together.

In the last half of the 19th Century, the Government of India was determined to obtain a secure and stable frontier—one based upon a natural barrier consisting of the highest mountains in the world, the Himalayas to the northeast and the Hindu Kush to the northwest. Fear that the Russian legions advancing through Central Asia might soon cross the passes of the Hindu Kush and debouch into the plains of India, added urgency to British policy deliberations. Although the Russophobe, H. C. Rawlinson, had in 1868 conceded that Russian expansion to the north of the great barrier mountains constituted a form of 'manifest destiny', and that:

Her present position is another illustration of the old doctrine that, when civilization and barbarism come in contact, the latter must inevitably give way,¹

the successive "guardians" of India, especially the men of the military hierarchy, were never convinced of the innocuity of the Russian intentions. Lord Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief in India,

1. H. C. Rawlinson's Memorandum on Central Asia, 20 July 1868; Parl. Papers, Afghanistan (1878-79), C. 2190, pp. 32-39.

stated in 1891, when the Russian border had become virtually continuous with the British:

My firm belief is that we shall some day lose India unless the Home authorities recognize the extreme danger of having Russia as a near neighbour, and determine, after making suitable arrangements for the protection of England and our Colonial possessions, to put forth the whole of our strength for the defence of this country whenever the occasion arises.²

The strategic importance of Chitral in this respect was that it guarded the southern approaches to the passes of the Hindu Kush, between the eastern end of Afghanistan and the northwestern frontier of Kashmir. As early as 1877, the Government of India was urging the Maharaja of Kashmir to obtain political control over Chitral.³ This seemed easily accomplished, since overtures for allegiance had already been made in the previous year by the Mehtar of Chitral, Aman-ul-Mulk. This Mehtar, who was able to rule for more than 30 years over a ruthless country where neither life nor law was respected, was described by Capt. Frank Young-husband as:

a strong, astute ruler, who, by the force of his character, by intriguing, murdering those of his rivals whom he could ensnare with his wiles, and by fighting the remainder, had consolidated a number of small states, incessantly at warfare with one another, into the Chitral of the present year (1895).⁴

But even Aman-ul-Mulk became alarmed over the increasing power of Afghanistan to the west and made haste to align himself with Kashmir and the British, putting aside former animosity, if any. Though the British flatly warned the Amir of Afghanistan not to attack the tribal areas to the east, and the British missions under Sir W. Lockhart (1885) and Colonel A. Durand (1888) were well received in Chitral, the relationship was never cordial. Aman-ul-Mulk, for his part, chose to stay aloof, continuing various intrigues

2. Roberts to Lansdowne, 29 April 1891, Lansdowne Papers series VII, vol. 5, part I, no. 454.

3. Govt. of India to Sec. of State, #17, 11 June 1877; PP/1, no. 1.

4. Capt. F. E. Younghusband & Capt. G. J. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral* (London, 1895), p. 3.

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to keep his rule unfettered, while the Government of India preferred to deal with the Mehtar indirectly through Kashmir, at one time rejecting his offer for direct allegiance.⁵ Indeed, this shallow relationship was disturbed only sporadically by overtures made by the British for the construction of a direct road between Chitral and Peshawar, a British outpost 200 miles to the south, a subject which was to play an important role in the debates on future policy in 1895.

Because of the lack of any sense of urgency, both Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin had made only half-hearted, and consequently abortive, attempts at opening up such a road during their vice-royalties (1876-1880 and 1884-1888, respectively). But when the first serious attempt was made by Lord Landsdowne's Government in 1889, it was the attitude of Umra Khan, the ruler of Jandol—a state situated along the proposed route—which was to hold the construction of the road in abeyance.⁶ This aggressive and ambitious chief, styled the "Napoleon of Bajaur," was later to play a major role in the events of 1895. Admired by almost all Englishmen who came in contact with him, Umra Khan was considered to be a "gentleman to the last,"...there being none "in the world more admirably courteous."⁷ He was of the Pathan tribes in the areas of Swat, Bajaur and Dir, peoples more closely related to the Afghans to the west than the Chitralis to the north, who were of Aryan stock. And, as was typical of these peoples, Umra Khan was a devout Muslim:

Though not a fanatic, he is very sincerely religious. He is a diligent student of the Koran, and prays long and often. He never fails to put on clean clothes at sunset to pray in.⁸

In 1881, Umra Khan had seized power in Jandol from an older brother and had immediately initiated a struggle for the control of adjoining areas, especially Dir and Bajaur. After cunningly

5. Govt. of India to Sec. of State, #103, 15 July 1881; PP/1, no. 5.

6. Sec. for Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., to Resident in Kashmir, 5 August 1889; PP/1, no. 9, encl. 2.

7. Sir George S. Robertson, *Chitral, The Story of a Minor Siege* (London, 1898), p. 150.

8. H. C. Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign* (London, 1895), p. 265.

playing one chief against another, by 1890, Umra Khan finally defeated Muhammed Sharif of Dir, the most important of the local tribal chiefs.⁹ But then, impressed with his own power, Umra Khan unwisely occupied Asmar, an outpost which was reputedly in Afghan territory. As Lord Lansdowne wrote in 1892, Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan

...has always nursed the project of placing himself at the head of a great Mahomedan Kingdom, and bringing under his dominion all the tribes and chiefships adjoining Afghanistan.¹⁰

Thus, Umra Khan's incursion at Asmar only intensified the growing enmity of the Amir, and in early 1892 an Afghan force under Ghulam Haidar Khan, the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, advanced upon and seized Asmar, as Umra Khan beat a hasty retreat.¹¹

The situation was becoming more and more critical from the British point of view. At a time of international complications in the Pamirs,¹² it seemed imperative to the Government of India to retain the strict stability of the northern frontier. When a skirmish finally occurred between Afghan and Jandoli forces, both the Amir and Umra Khan were specifically warned to desist from all aggression.¹³ The Government of India was greatly disturbed, too, over Aman-ul-Mulk's various intrigues; though he was told not to participate in the tribal struggles as early as April 1890, the Mehtar first offered to help Umra Khan, crush the Khan of Dir,¹⁴ but later when it was rumoured that Umra Khan was planning to attack Chitral itself, the Mehtar immediately began intrigues to restore the Khan of Dir to his throne.¹⁵ Moreover, it was specu-

9. Peshawar Confidential Diary, 11 July 1890; SPD.

10. Lansdowne to Kimberley, 23 August 1892; Lansdowne Papers, Letters to and from the Sec. of State (1892), no. 41; private letter.

11. Memorandum on the Northwestern Frontier, April 1892; SPD.

12. Loud protests were then being made by the British and Chinese Governments over the presence of a Russian expedition in the disputed territory.

13. Viceroy to Amir, 28 June 1892, and Viceroy to Mehtar of Chitral, 29 June 1892, encls. 2 & 3 respectively of #149; SPD.

14. Memorandum on the Northwestern Frontier, April 1890; SPD.

15. *Ibid.*, April 1892; SPD.

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lated that Aman-ul-Mulk was intriguing with the Amir, and perhaps even with the Russians.¹⁶

The British were in a serious predicament: three powerful but mutually hostile rulers were dominating the northwest frontier and the British needed the friendly allegiance of all of them. Abdur Rahman and Aman-ul-Mulk for the security of the north-west frontier, and Umra Khan for the shortest road connection to the vital passes of the Hindu Kush. As time went on, an uneasy balance of power slowly began to develop among the rulers, only to be shattered abruptly when Aman-ul-Mulk died of natural causes on 30 August 1892.

The death of the old Mehtar signalled the start of a typical bloody struggle for the throne among his sons. Afzul-ul-Mulk, the second legitimate son, was on the spot and immediately seized power at Chitral while Nizam-ul-Mulk, the presumably legitimate heir, was at Yasin, acting as governor. As a result, Nizam-ul-Mulk had to flee the country and was granted asylum at the British Agency in Gilgit to the east. Afzul-ul-Mulk killed off all possible rivals for the throne in Chitral, consolidated his position with the help of the popularity he had among the Chitralis, and asked for recognition from the Government of India as the new Mehtar.

It had always been the British policy on the northern frontier in areas where they had only nominal control, to recognize whoever was in power at the time in a state, as its proper ruler. Indeed, the British Agent at Gilgit was directed not to involve himself in the struggle for the throne in Chitral.¹⁷ Though Nizam-ul-Mulk was still under British protection, Afzul-ul-Mulk's accession was regarded as satisfactory. Hoping to be able to exert a greater influence over him than his father, the Government of India promptly sanctioned the dispatch of a British officer to Chitral to confirm British recognition of the new Mehtar.¹⁸

But already, the awe and esteem with which the power of Chitral was once held, were gone. Umra Khan occupied the Chi-

16. *Ibid.*, August 1892; SPD.

17. Govt. of India to Sec. of State # 192, 19 October 1892; PP/1, no. 13.

18. Govt. of India to Kimberley, # 193, 19 October 1892; SPD.

trali fort at Narsat in October 1892, and in November, the Amir was to become involved in the complete overthrow of the new Chitral regime: Sher Afzul, a brother of the late Aman-ul-Mulk who had been exiled to Kabul by him, suddenly emerged from Afghanistan with a small force, and by successful intrigues seized Chitral, killing Afzul-ul-Mulk.

Sher Afzul reportedly said that he was 'a servant of the Amir's,'¹⁹ and though he was popular among the Chitralis,²⁰ his connection with the Amir of Afghanistan no doubt prejudiced the British against him. Without the sanction of the Government of India, Colonel A. Durand, the British Agent at Gilgit, provided Nizam-ul-Mulk with men and arms to support his claims, as soon as it was learned that he would "carry out all orders of Government" if he were created Mehtar. Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to oust Sher Afzul by early December with the added support from the men of the upper Chitrali valleys, and Sher Afzul hastily fled back to Kabul. The Government of India was quick to complement Durand's action:

In taking this measure without the sanction of Government [the Viceroy wrote to London], Colonel Durand acted from a conviction that immediate and decided action in anticipation of orders could alone avert a serious crisis.²¹

Lansdowne's was certainly an exaggerated view of the situation but was illustrative of how easily swayed the Government of India was by the alarmist views of local frontier officers.

Surgeon-Major George S. Robertson was sent to Chitral in 1893 to recognize the new Mehtar and conclude an agreement with him. From his first reception Robertson thought that the state of affairs was highly unsatisfactory. Attributing Sher Afzul's defeat to a mistaken impression among his men that a full British force was approaching Chitral, Robertson described Nizam-ul-Mulk and his position in less than flattering terms:

19. Peshawar Confidential Diary, December 1892; SPD.

20. This is amply corroborated by the books on the siege by F. E. & G. J. Younghusband, Robertson, and Thomson, *op.cit.*

21. Govt. of India to Sec. of State, #233, 28 December 1892; SPD.

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He is heedless, silent, and stupid. His intellect, never very strong, is often clouded by "Churrus" smoking, and drink.... He is cowardly and miserly, equally afraid to punish his enemies and reluctant to reward his friends. When the Mission reached Chitral, it found the successful claimant of his father's throne scared and trembling, his followers downcast and sulky, while the defeated faction swaggered about everywhere, self-confident if sullen, and with all the snider rifles plundered from the fort arsenal paraded openly in their possession.²²

So unpopular was the new Mehtar that Robertson later stated that he (Robertson) was

compelled to actively and energetically support Nizam-ul-Mulk in his government, yet without ever appearing to interfere in the internal affairs of the state.²³

If Robertson was ill disposed towards Nizam-ul-Mulk, he thought little better of the Mehtar's subjects:

There are few more treacherous people in the world than Chitralis, and they have a wonderful capacity for cold-blooded cruelty, yet none are kinder to little children or have stronger affection for blood and foster relations when cupidity or jealousy do not intervene. All have pleasant and ingratiating manners, an engaging light-heartedness, free from all traces of boisterous behaviour, a great fondness for music, dancing and singing, a passion for simple-minded ostentation, and an instinctive yearning for softness and luxury which is the mainspring of their intense cupidity and avarice. No race is more untruthful or has a greater power of keeping a collective secret. Their vanity is easily injured, they are revengeful and venal, but they are charmingly picturesque and admirable companions. Perhaps the most convenient trait they possess, as far as we are concerned, is a complete absence of religious fanaticism.²⁴

Robertson departed from Chitral in the middle of 1893, leaving Capt. Frank Younghusband there as an agent for the Government

22. Robertson to Resident in Kashmir, 18 March 1893; SPD.

23. Robertson to Resident in Kashmir, 17 June 1893; SPD.

24. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

of India.²⁵ Despite Robertson's lack of faith in Nizam-ul-Mulk's government, the relative stability of the northwestern frontier was maintained for the next year and a half. The principal reason for this happy state of affairs was the timely conclusion of the Durand Agreement with the Amir of Afghanistan (12 November 1893) which specifically stated that:

The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it, as far as Chananak. His Highness agrees, on the other hand, that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley.²⁶

Since this agreement also provided for a complete demarcation of the Indo-Afghan border, it was not to the Amir's interests to be involved in border disturbances before the demarcation was carried out. Umra Khan, too, was temporarily pacified when the Government of India agreed to let him purchase arms in India in return for a promise of non-aggression. The British hoped to be able to maintain a relatively stable northern-western frontier during the period of critical negotiations with Russia which were finally to culminate in the Pamirs Delimitation Agreement of 1895. Meanwhile, Capt. Younghusband was to be retained in Chitral throughout 1894 by the Government of India, for

...we are convinced that to withdraw our political officer from Chitral while the Pamir question is still unsettled, would be premature and unwise.²⁷

High hopes notwithstanding, frontier peace was again shattered on the first day of 1895, when Nizam-ul-Mulk was assassinated at the instigation of Amir-ul-Mulk, another son of Aman-ul-Mulk, generally believed to be a semi-idiot. Lieutenant B. M. E. Gurdon, who had replaced Younghusband in Chitral only a month before, consequently found his position compromised, and Robertson immediately set out from Gilgit with a small escort.

25. Peshawar Confidential Diary, 24 July 1893; SPD.

26. The Durand Agreement, 12 November 1893; PP/2.

27. Govt. of India to Sec. of State, # 99, 12 June 1894; PP/1, no. 21.

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The rapid progress of events that followed does not seem to leave much doubt that Amir-ul-Mulk was part of a general conspiracy involving both Umra Khan and Sher Afzul, and that he later became afraid of Umra Khan's real intentions. Umra Khan immediately began advancing northward on the pretext of waging a religious war against the animist Kafirs,²⁸ and Sher Afzul, too, appeared on the scene with the clamorous support of most of the Chitralis. Forces still loyal to Amir-ul-Mulk were soon in quick retreat, and by the beginning of March, Robertson had to retire for protection into the fort of Chitral, on the outskirts of the town, a British officer having already been killed in a skirmish.

The Government of India learned of these events on the 7th of March and ordered the immediate mobilisation of a division of the Field Army under General Robert Low for the relief of the besieged garrison from the direction of Peshawar.²⁹ On the same date, a final warning was sent to Umra Khan,³⁰ and a proclamation was issued to the local peoples of Swat and Bajaur, announcing the intentions of the Government of India, assuring them that there would be no permanent occupation of territories through which Low's force might march, and that friendly treatment would be given to all those who did not oppose the advance of the troops. This proclamation, too, was to play a significant role in the debates which followed late in 1895 on future policy in regard to Chitral.

Meanwhile, the truly critical nature of the British position in Chitral was realized when a small force under Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes met disaster at the hands of Muhammed Isa, Sher Afzul's lieutenant.³¹ On the 22nd of March, orders were sent to Colonel J. G. Kelly, then the senior military officer at Gilgit, to

28. Sec. for Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., to Peshawar Commr., 14 March 1895; SPD.

29. Though the Government of India and the Home Government were to differ decisively in regard to the future policy to be followed in Chitral, there was never any question about the relief of the beleaguered British garrison, e.g., Sec. of State to Viceroy, telegram, 8 March 1895; PP/1, no. 25: "I am prepared to approve such action for securing safety of Robertson and party as you may deem necessary."

30. Vide footnote 28.

31. The two officers themselves, however, were to live by the grace of Umra Khan, e.g., Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 120.151.

march on Chitral. "His orders permitted him to make such dispositions and movements as he might think best, provided he undertook no operations which did not offer reasonable prospects of success."³² At one time, the Government of India even toyed with the idea of requesting aid from the Amir of Afghanistan, but the suggestion was soon dismissed,³³ probably in view of the possible involvement of the Amir in the conspiracy. The demarcation of the Afghan border, as was prescribed in the Durand Agreement, was postponed to a more 'convenient' season for similar reasons.³⁴

The relief of Chitral came quickly. The Malakand Pass into Swat was taken by General Low on the 3rd of April, the same day that Colonel Kelly crossed the snow clogged Shandur Pass into Mastuj Valley. Umra Khan's main force was soon in retreat. Sher Afzul's forces, too, were terror-stricken when they learnt of Kelly's success, such a feat at that season of the year having previously been thought quite impossible. As a result, there were few remaining obstacles to the British advance on Chitral, and Colonel Kelly was able to reach the garrison in the fort by the 18th of April, just 27 days after he had left Gilgit. It was said that both Sher Afzul and Umra Khan quickly fled to Kabul.³⁵

The Chitral Campaign became the subject of much acclaim in the British press and in the literature of the day. The Indian Army was said to never have taken part in a campaign "so rapid, brilliant, and successful" since Lord Roberts' famous march from Kabul to Kandahar, and Colonel Kelly's march itself was compared to Gourko's march over the Balkans. Younghusband wrote:

Just on the brink of a disaster the British forces came out triumphant; and once again in our fair island's story it was shown that British officers, even though they had not a single British soldier by them, and had only to trust to their own stout hearts and strong right arms, and to the influence they could exercise over men of subject races, and to the feeling

32. Govt. of India to Sec. of State, # 66, 17 April 1895; SPD.

33. Viceroy to Sec. of State, telegram, 26 March 1895; HC.

34. Vide footnote 33.

35. For accounts of the relief of Chitral, see Govt. of India to Sec. of State, # 66, 17 April 1895; SPD, as well as the books on the siege by F. E. & G. J. Younghusband, Robertson, and Thomson, *op. cit.*

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of loyalty they could evoke from them, have been able to uphold the honour of the race; and the story of the defence and relief of Chitral will be handed down to posterity as one of the most brilliant chapters in the annals of Indian military history.³⁶

The dramatic course of events in Chitral necessitated a prompt re-examination of British frontier policy in the region. In earlier years, the question of future policy they had already begun to bother the Liberal Ministries of Gladstone (his fourth, 1892-1894) and Rosebery (1894-1895).³⁷ Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, had sanctioned Younghusband's retention in Chitral in 1893 merely as a temporary measure, and it was only on the insistence of the Government of India, prompted by advice of local officers, that he continued there throughout 1894.³⁸ During the siege itself, Henry Fowler, Kimberley's successor, cautioned the Government of India against committing itself to any definite future policy in regard to Chitral.³⁹ When the British *de facto* occupation necessitated a final decision from Rosebery's Government, it solidly advocated withdrawal, *contrary* to the recommendations made by the Government of India under the viceroyalty of Lord Elgin.

The arguments for occupation or withdrawal rested mainly on four points: (1) the feasibility of opening a direct road from Peshawar to Chitral at the expense of the Government of India—it was generally agreed that the Chitral garrison could not be maintained by the Gilgit road, a tortuous route over great distances; (2) the possibility of Russian invasion upon withdrawal; (3) the potential loss of prestige among the indigenous tribes should the British depart; and (4) the possible "breach of faith" which, in

36. F. E. & G. J. Younghusband, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

37. The Liberal Party in England at this time was the embodiment of an emerging "metropolitan" temperament, a temperament which did not share the sense of urgency and danger of the frontiersman at the outskirts of empire. The growing feeling was that the nation did not have any enemies except those that its leaders made beyond the island's shores. Consequently, though the fact of empire was accepted and appreciated, there was little enthusiasm for more acquisitions.

38. Sec. of State to Govt. of India, # 34, 1 September 1893; PP/1, no. 19.

39. Sec. of State to Viceroy, 30 March 1895; HC.

virtue of the March Proclamation, would result from permanent occupation.

Interestingly enough, a third alternative to occupation or evacuation was proposed by two members of the Council of India, General H. Brackenbury and Sir C.H.T. Crosthwaite: they introduced the possibility of granting suzerainty over Chitral to the Amir of Afghanistan.⁴⁰ The idea had already been rejected in 1893 by Kimberley, Amir's hostile attitude, especially in 1895, precluded any possibility of such a decision being adopted. It is to be remarked, however, that Robertson himself saw no other proposal leading to a stable frontier,⁴¹ and that before the siege had begun, Robertson even advocated making Sher Afzul Mehtar of Chitral in spite of his connection with the Amir.⁴²

Lord Elgin was quick to advocate the occupation of Chitral. As early as the 18th of April, the same day Colonel Kelly reached the Chitral garrison, Elgin asked for permission to sound out the intervening tribes on the possibility of a Peshawar-Chitral road, to be held by tribal levies, being opened.⁴³ In a fuller statement of policy, the Government of India pointed out that Chitral 'has not for the last twenty years been able to stand alone,' for fear of Afghan aggression and because of internal anarchy. Furthermore,

Chitral left to itself must, we feel assured, fall into the hands of Russia whenever she, after her frontier is advanced to the Oxus, chooses to take possession of it.⁴⁴

It was argued that Pamirs Agreement (11th March, 1895), already concluded, would define the relative positions of England and Russia, assuming the Amir's 'concurrence' but "it is neces-

40. Minute by Ltr-Gen. H. Brackenbury, 4 May 1895; HC. It is to be noted that the impracticality of opening a Peshawar-Chitral road was assumed by both men.

41. Resident in Kashmir to Sec. for Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., telegram, 29 April 1895; SPD.

42. Resident in Kashmir to Sec. for Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., #46, 6 March 1895, encl. no. 49; SPD.

43. Viceroy to Sec. of State, telegram, 18 April 1895; HC.

44. Govt. of India to Sec. of State, #89, 8 May 1895; SPD.

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sary to take into account the possibility of a collapse of existing arrangements in Afghanistan."⁴⁵

The divergence of opinion between Elgin and his Liberal colleagues at home was notable. Rosebery could not view the Pamirs Agreement with the same pessimism as the Government of India, and he was little inclined to spend Government funds to retain a road designed to guard against an unanticipated Russian invasion.

The final decision of the Home Government was conveyed to India on the 13th of June,⁴⁶ but before withdrawal could be implemented, the Rosebery Ministry fell, and the Conservative Ministry under the Marquis of Salisbury was soon to reverse the decision. In reply to proposals made by the Government of India, the new Home Government approved the permanent occupation of Chitral with the following provisions: (1) there was to be no augmentation of the Indian Army; (2) the garrison for both Gilgit and Chitral was to consist of two native regiments; (3) the Chitral headquarters was to be at Kila Drosh, some miles south of Chitral, and (4) the road between the Swat River and Kila Drosh was to be held by tribal levies.⁴⁷ With few alterations, this was to be the method of British control in Chitral for the next few years. As to the future of the Mehtarship, it was decided by the Government of India that Shuja-ul-Mulk, another son of the late Aman-ul-Mulk, and yet quite young, was to become Mehtar over the Katur country, and that a governor and native headmen were to be appointed for the Kushwakt country. And of course,

The Government of India will provide guard for Mehtar during minority, and will control foreign relations as usual in protected States in return for security from aggression.⁴⁸

The Liberals were irate over this reversal of their frontier policy. Sir W. Harcourt, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, questioned the need for the added expenditures, in the House of Commons. Salisbury's reply was swift and effective. He informed

45. *Vide* footnote 44.

46. Sec. of State to Viceroy, telegram, 13 June 1895; PP/1, no. 40.

47. Sec. of State to Viceroy, telegram, 9 August 1895; PP/1, no. 53.

48. Viceroy to Sec. of State, telegram, 18 August 1895; PP/2.

the Liberals that it was under their aegis that Chitral had been occupied, that

to retire from Chitral is not a course of action that can be carried out in isolation, and it would involve with it the abandonment of the existing post at Gilgit,⁴⁹ ...

and that

Chitral indeed has been the scene of one of the most heroic actions which of recent years have rendered British arms illustrious, ...

and

it would be a serious blow to our prestige if, having once gone to those territories, we were to abandon them.⁵⁰

The polemics in the House of Lords were unusually heated. Lord Rosebery pointed out that: (1) the mountain barrier in which Chitral is located was practically impervious to any large army; (2) the Pamirs Agreement for the delimitation of the northern frontier had been concluded with Russia, and British occupation of Chitral would only be looked upon by Russia with suspicion; (3) the March Proclamation included the following words:

The sole object of the Government of India is to put an end to the present, and prevent any future, unlawful aggression on Chitral territory, and, as soon as this object has been attained, the force will be withdrawn.⁵¹

The occupation of Chitral, then, would be a breach of faith with the people in whose area the campaign had taken place; and (4) the financial condition of India was such that it could ill afford

49. It must be noted that the scheme of frontier surveillance based upon a British Agency at Gilgit had been used for years, and though the scheme had not been very satisfactory, the sudden abandonment of the Gilgit Agency in correlation with the withdrawal from the newly occupied Chitral would never have been contemplated by the Government of India.

50. *Hansard*, 15 August 1895.

51. Sec. to Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., to Chief Sec., Punjab Govt., telegram, 14 March 1895; SPD.

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another vast source of expenditure. Rosebery appended one more point, that it was now, more than ever, necessary to "concentrate" military might, in view of the past French activity on the Mekong, as well as the two great powers to the north, Russia and China being conterminous. Salisbury's rebuttal was to the following effect: (1) there was to be no increase in the total military expenditure of India; (2)

We entirely deny that anything we have done, or intend to do, can be the very harshest construction, be construed to break the promises into which we have entered;

and that (3)

. . . we held the abandonment of Chitral to be . . . most unwise as a question of moral strategy, . . .

which would have had a

. . . detrimental effect upon the tribes which lie between the occupied ground and the outer frontiers of India . . .⁵²

When the subject came up again in February 1896, the debate in Commons went along much the same lines. Sir W. Wedderburn, at one time a ranking member of the Indian Civil Service, formally proposed that the House might express its "regret" at the occupation of Chitral. In addition to the arguments already presented by his Liberal colleagues, Wedderburn informed the House of allegations made in the Anglo-Indian press to the effect that,

. . . the object of the expedition to Chitral was to show we had effective control over the mountainous regions, so that when the treaty with Russia was made, we might show we were in effective possession of those regions to put them within our sphere of influence.

If this were so, he wanted to know if the Pamirs Agreement was merely a delimitation of the respective spheres of influence between England and Russia, or whether it was an actual extension of the

52. *Hansard*, 15 August 1895.

northern boundary of India. The Liberals, ably led, again pressed their point, but the Conservative view was once more to prevail.

Speaking for his party Lord G. Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, dwelt more on the "beneficial" aspects of occupation, and less on possible international complications, pointing out in passing, that had the British not preserved order in Chitral, it would have been an open "invitation to some other country to come in and perform the duties which they had abdicated . . ." Hamilton emphasized the favourable possibilities of commerce, saying, "Chitral was a much richer country than was anticipated," and he was quick to reiterate, "The result of their occupation was that the slave trade had ceased."⁵³ Throughout, Hamilton never tired of stressing that the consequence of withdrawal from Chitral would have been to "hand it over to anarchy."

As to the question of "breach of faith," the Secretary of State forcibly returned the Liberals' fire. He claimed, "The Proclamation was issued to the tribes who lived between the territory of Chitral and Peshawar," and it "had absolutely nothing to do with the people of Chitral, because our suzerainty and authority were already there asserted." He then informed the Liberals with satisfaction, "The heads of the intervening tribes petitioned the Political Officer, asking to be incorporated in British territory."⁵⁴ Then, in triumphant accusation, Hamilton said:

When all their tangible arguments in reference to occupation were annihilated, the supporters of the late Government fell back on breach of faith.

53. Thomson (*op. cit.*, p. 274) states: The bulk of the Chitralis are slaves, belonging, absolutely to the adamzodas or nobles, . . . It would be a very difficult . . . (act) to bring about the abolition of slavery altogether, for the land being entirely in the hands of the nobles, the slaves would starve if suddenly freed.

54. It is to be noted that according to the Final Report (October 1895, PP/2) of the Political Officer concerned, Major H. A. Deane, of the Chitral Relief Force, the chiefs of the intervening tribes who had aided the advance of General Low asked more specifically for British protection, from (I conjecture) tribes still hostile to the British. It is to be noted, too, that many chiefs, e.g., Muhammed Sharif, the Khan of Dir, owed their reinstatement to the British and really had little choice in the matter (Govt. of India to General Low, 15 August 1895; PP/2).

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Finally, centering his attack on the Liberal Party itself, he accused the opposition of playing party politics and exclaimed:

It was not creditable to English politics that they should bring this charge of want of honour and breach of faith against a member of their own party (Lord Elgin), who was carrying out a policy which he believed to be consistent with national and Imperial interest.⁵⁵

The question of breach of faith is a moot point. It was admittedly brought forth as a political manoeuvre by the Liberal Party. The indigenous tribes between Peshawar and Chitral cared little whether the British issued a proclamation to them or not, and could do even less if it were breached; so, the dispute over breach of faith was only academic in the final analysis, a question of interpretation and semantics. Either side of the issue could be supported with some justification.

The Liberals were, of course, soundly defeated in Parliament, and the permanent occupation of Chitral signified the beginning of a new period of frontier management. Never again was Chitral to achieve any semblance of independence. It was henceforth to be considered one of the stanchions to which the entire developing system of frontier defence in the north was to be secured. Six years after the memorable siege, the state was absorbed directly into British India as part of the newly formed North-West Frontier Province.

55. *Hansard*, 17 February, 1896.

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The Brhatkathākośa and the Dhārāsiva Caves

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The rock-cut caves of Dhārāsiva lie in a deep ravine about eight miles North-East of Osmanabad, headquarters of a district of the same name in Mahārāṣṭra. Of these, the group of four caves on the North side of the ravine, as it stands today, is attributed to the Jaina faith. The caves are in a very bad state of preservation and almost in a ruinous condition. They have been excavated in a soft rock of coarse, friable texture containing haematite which, to a large extent, is responsible for their present condition. The caves have long since suffered at the hands of man and nature alike, and though protected formerly by the Hyderabad State and now by the Mahārāṣṭra State, they are still in a bad state of preservation. They have been robbed of much of their sculptural and decorative wealth and consequently they have not received the attention they merit. However, even in their present ruinous condition they do not fail to impress the student with their pristine glory.

The caves being located far in the interior have not so far been studied properly. They were, however, visited by those pioneers in the field of studies in ancient Indian rock-cut architecture, Fergusson, through whose accounts and illustrations they are now accessible to us. In fact when the writer visited them sometime ago, he noticed that some of the important relief features of the caves, recorded by Fergusson and Burgess, have now been lost to us. From a study of the architectural details they have been dated to the same period to which the architectural activity of the Mahāyāna Buddhists in Western India is assigned. "As to the age of the caves," observes Burgess, "it is difficult to speak with much confidence; the absence of wall sculptures and the style of pillars in all of them seem certainly to make them as of a considerably earlier type than the Ellora Jaina caves and compared with the archi-

tectural features of Brahmanical and Buddhist caves, I am disposed to assign them to the middle of the 7th century of our era."¹ However, as the writer has shown elsewhere,² the group of caves, more especially the main cave, resembles in plan and other architectural details the later group of caves at Ajanta and is therefore of the same age as that of the latter. The chronology of the Mahāyāna caves at Ajanta was till recently a controversial issue. But, as Prof. Spink has now shown, they were all executed during 450-500 A.D.³ It therefore necessarily follows that the Dhārāsīva caves have also to be assigned to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

This dating of the caves, however, raises more issues than it solves. It would, on the one hand, demonstrate that Jainism, to which faith the Dhārāsīva caves are dedicated, was quite well-spread and active in Mahārāṣṭra in the fifth century A.D. It was actually on this presumption that Hiralal Jain concluded that they are Jaina caves and supported his contention from the evidence furnished by the *Karakāṇḍa-Cariu* of Muni Kanakāmara, an eleventh century Jaina text in Apabhraṃśa, discovered by him in 1923.⁴ The text describes the exploits of a certain King, Karakāṇḍa by name, and his visit to the main cave at Dhārāsīva in the course of his expedition. It also gives the legendary origin of the cave according to which it was originally excavated by two Vidyādhara brothers, Nīla and Mahānīla. The text further records that the King Karakāṇḍa visited the cave, worshipped the Jina image in its shrine and also excavated two more caves at that place. This account of Kanakāmara led Jain to conclude that the cave originally belonged to the Jaina faith and that it was caused to be excavated by some early, yet unknown, Prince of the Silahara dynasty.⁵ This, however, is not tenable in the light of evidence furnished by the text which records that the King Kara-

1. Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, (London, 1880), p. 504.

2. "The Dhārāsīva Caves — A Resurvey", Jr. of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Cunha Memorial Number, Vol. 39-40, 1964-65, pp. 183-90.

3. "From History to Art History: Monuments of the Deccan", *Summaries of Papers, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, 1964* (New Delhi, 1964), p. 243.

4. Ed. by Hiralal Jain (Karanja Jain Series, 1924), Ch. IV and V.

5. "Fresh Light on the Dharasiva Caves and the Origin of the Silahara Dynasty", *ABORI*, Vol. XVI, 1934-35, pp. 1-11.

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kaṇḍa, on visiting the cave, did not only worship the Jīna image in its shrine but curiously enough installed a new image of a Jīna in it. This new image was found on the top of the hill. As I have shown elsewhere, the only possibility is that the King first worshipped the Buddha image in the cave and later, when he became conscious of the mistake, converted the cave into a Jaina shrine.⁶ It was humanly impossible to destroy the huge Buddha image carved in the living rock and the only natural course, therefore, was to convert it into a Jīna image. Fortunately, the original image had a seven-hooded Nāga over its head and was therefore quite useful for the conversion into a Jīna image. Regarding further efforts on the part of Karakaṇḍa I had formerly inferred that he must have obliterated the projecting *dharma-cakra* which was prominently noticeable on the *simhāsana*. This is now in a badly mutilated state, a fact which did not escape the attention of Fergusson and Burgess.⁷ I had attributed the mutilation of the *dharma-cakra* to Karakaṇḍa.⁸ This, however, was merely a surmise which, without any concrete evidence, was based on the indications which pointed towards the fact that it was anciently broken. But happily this surmise can now be substantiated with the help of evidence from the *Brhatkathakośa*.

The *Brhatkathakośa* is a tenth century Jaina text in Sānskrit and is earlier than the *Karakaṇḍa-carīu* of Muni Kanakāmara which is assigned to the eleventh century. It is a collection of stories by Hariśācārya.⁹ One of the stories, the *Karakaṇḍa-mahārāja-kathānakam*, deals with the exploits of the King Karakaṇḍa and gives a slightly different version of the King's visit to the Dhārāsiva caves.¹⁰ According to Hariśācārya, the King of Campā (Karakanda) arrived at the city of Tera (present Ter, District Osmānabād, Mahārāṣṭra), situated in the country of Dakṣiṇāpatha, with a view to subdue a King nearby. He pitched his camp to the South of the city of Tera. On receiving information that the King Karakaṇḍa had arrived at Tera Śiva, the chief of the Bhils

6. Dhavalikar, *op.cit.*, p. 187.

7. *Op.cit.*, p. 6.

8. Dhavalikar, *op.cit.*, p. 188.

9. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Granthamala, No. 17, (Bombay, Sam. 1999).

10. *Ibid*, Ch. 56, pp. 88-101

in that region, came to see him along with his retinue. He was granted audience by Karakaṇḍa after the door-keeper had intimated him the arrival of the chief of the Bhils. Śiva, the Bhil chieftain, made obeisance to the King with folded hands. After offering him *tāmbūla*, the King opened the conversation with Śiva, who was seated in front of him on the floor. He asked the Bhil chieftain to state if he had come across anything unusual in the course of his wanderings in the forest. The latter thereupon told him that he had seen a great wonder in the forest nearby. He said, "To the South of this place, on a mountain, is situated a huge Jaina temple (*Jinālaya*) with thousand pillars. On the top of the mountain is situated an ant-hill which, being protected by gods, is inaccessible. This ant-hill is always worshipped by a white elephant with water and lotuses." He further added that he would be very glad to show the King this wonder. The King then, led by Śiva, reached the cave (*layana*) which was supported by a thousand pillars. He worshipped the Jina image in the shrine with great devotion and later went to the top of the hill. There he saw the white elephant worshipping the ant-hill. Karakaṇḍa himself then worshipped the ant-hill with flowers, incense (*dhūpa*) and grains (*akṣatā*) after observing fast. Later still he deposited the image of Parśvajīna which was removed from the ant-hill and he was extremely pleased to behold the idol of the Jina seated on a *simhāsana* (of the image) which was resplendent with beautiful, shining jewels. The King Karakaṇḍa saw a knot (*granthī*) which might possibly have been in the centre. The King was rather puzzled and thought that such a knot on the throne of a Jina image was out of place. He therefore instantaneously sent for a stone-mason (*drśadvij ānin*). The wise King Karakaṇḍa then spoke to the expert stone-mason, who was standing in front of him with due observance of the proper modes of conduct. The King who was well versed in various arts and crafts and was himself a connoisseur of arts and also possessed the knowledge of the science of icons (*pratimā-lakṣaṇ*) ordered the stone-mason to remove the knot on the *simhāsana* of the Jina image. After listening with rapt attention to the King, the *upādhyāya* (priest or stone-mason?) disclosed that there was a secret vein containing water in the knot on the throne. If that knot were to be removed, the whole cave (*layana*) would be flooded with water. However, the King was adamant and was not prepared to pay any heed to what

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the stone-mason said. Then, disregarding his advice, the King ordered and compelled the stone-mason to remove the knot on the *śimhāsana*. As soon as he struck the knot on the throne with a chisel and a hammer, the secret vein of water which was located within the knot burst out with tremendous force and the whole cave was soon flooded with water. King Karakaṇḍa was then horrified and very much distressed at the plight of the cave. He then bathed, wore white garments and observed fast for three days by sitting on a mat of grass (*darbha-saṁstara*).¹¹

Thus runs the narration of the story as given in the *Br̥hat-kāthakośa*. It is needless to mention that it is substantially different from that given in the later text, the *Karakaṇḍa-carit*. The latter merely records that Karakaṇḍa installed the image of Jīna, discovered in the ant-hill on the top of the hill, in the cave and worshipped it. It is silent about the episode of the breaking of the knot on the throne. However, as seen above, it has been retained in the *Br̥hatkāthakośa*, an earlier text. What remains now is to find out whether the version recorded in the *Br̥hatkāthakośa* contains any substratum of history and consequently throws any light on the origin of the Dhārāśiva caves.

It will be seen that the cave referred to in the text can easily be identified with the main cave at Dhārāśiva which is not far off from the present village Ter (the Terāpura of the text). The cave is said to have been supported by one thousand pillars and thus was a great wonder. The cave, from the description, appears to be the main cave, numbered 2 in the group at Dhārāśiva. It is the largest and the most impressive of the group. It consists of a hall measuring eighty feet square approximately containing thirty-two pillars, twenty-eight along the sides and four in the centre forming *navaraṅga* or *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, a feature to be noticed at Ajanta (Cave 11) and also at Bagh. On each side wall are eight cells, about 9 ft. × 9 ft. each while in the wall there are six cells, three on each side of the shrine in the centre. The cells are all plain and exactly of the character of those in Buddhist caves. In the shrine (19×15 ft.) is seen a huge image of Pārśvanātha in *dhyaṇa-mudrā*, sitting cross-legged on a *śimhāsana*. The *śimhāsana* has on its base at the front two deer on each

11. *Ibid*, Vs. 352-386, pp. 98-99.

side of an object which is obliterated. Behind the image are seen the ends of a roll cushion against which he rests. The back of the throne has *vyāla-mukha* terminals behind which two chowrie bearers, one each on either side, and over their heads are two flying *gandharvas* possibly holding garlands. Over the head of Pārśvanātha is a seven-hooded snake having a small crown on each of its hoods. All the figures are completely covered with plaster and painted over with a variety of colours.

The pillars in front of the shrine are round and have square bases; they have constricted cushion capitals and their shafts are adorned with horizontal bands containing beaded patterns and festoons. The other pillars in the hall have bracket capitals; their shafts are carved with two bands of half medallions, a motif so common at Ajanta.

The pillars of the verandah are completely ruined and the facade has also fallen. The cave also has an open court now filled in completely. At the entrance to the court is carved a sitting figure of a Jīna having a halo behind his head. On his either side is a *nāga* figure. There are some other figures in the panel but they are very indistinct.

At the West end of the verandah is a small excavation containing a cistern and there are also to be seen in it a few loose Jaina sculptures. One of them represents Pārśvanātha in the *Kayotsarga* posture and has a *nāga* behind him. The other, on a square block, has on its four sides standing Jīnas, one each on each side, with a *chhatrāvali* over his head. Yet one more is a slab carved with a seated Jīna, possibly in *dhyāna-mudrā*. These pieces are rather of crude workmanship and appear to be of a comparatively later date. They cannot be earlier than the ninth century A.D. and may even belong to the tenth century A.D.

The plan of the cave, together with its arrangement of cells, the pillar order and the composition of figures in the shrine, bears a striking similarity with those in some of the Mahāyāna caves at Ajanta. However, the rock-cut court and figures carved on its entrance do not simply fit in with the original plan of the cave and they therefore appear to be later additions.

Since we are concerned here with the evidence from the *Bṛhatkāthakośa* I have confined myself to the main cave at Dhārāsivā. From the dimensions and the description of the cave given

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above it can be readily conceded that the cave must have been one of the greatest artistic productions of the period to which it belongs. Furthermore, even today patches of plaster, still to be seen on the walls and the ceiling of the cave, are indicative of its being adorned with paintings which might have been still in good condition sometime in the ninth century A.D. when King Karakaṇḍa visited it. That is probably the reason why Śiva, the Bhūl chieftain, called it a wonder. Karakaṇḍa was also obviously impressed by its grandeur. He was apparently moved by its glory and therefore worshipped the Jina image in the shrine. But here then is the snag in the episode which becomes rather enigmatic. Hariśācārya wants us to believe that Karakaṇḍa went to the top of the hill, discovered yet one more image of Jina buried in the ant-hill, and worshipped by the white elephant. The King removed this image probably to the shrine in the cave and consecrated it. He was supremely happy to see the image but was rather worried about the 'knot' on its *śimhāsana*. Here the story is confusing since Karakaṇḍa had already worshipped the Jina in the shrine of the cave and there was therefore no need of installing yet one more Jina image in the cave. But there is no loose Jina image in the cave which can be called 'resplendent'. We may therefore safely presume with a reasonable amount of certitude that the text here refers to the rock-cut Jina image in the shrine of the cave which can be called a great piece of art. Moreover, the 'knot' on the throne of which the King was worried, was possibly the one on the *śimhāsana* of the Jina image in the shrine of the main cave. This perhaps was the 'knot' which, according to the text, contained a secret vein of water and which, if broken, would have flooded the cave with water.

Here then arises the problem of the 'knot'. In all probability the 'knot' on the *śimhāsana* appears to be the projecting *dharma-cakra*—'the wheel of Law'—which, though mutilated in the main cave, is still intact on the throne of the idol in cave 3 at Dhārāśiva. It has already been observed that the *dharma-cakra* on the throne in the shrine of the main cave appears to be anciently broken. This fact provides solution to the problem since the *dharma-cakra* sculptured on the Buddha's throne in Indian art is always carved in bold relief and is shown projecting out. Karakaṇḍa is quite justified in mistaking it for a 'knot'.

(*granthi*) as it looks like one. But it is enigmatic as to why it should be a source of worry for the King. This was perhaps the moment when he realized that he had worshipped by mistake a Buddha image. It is very natural that he should have mistaken a Buddha image as that of a Jina, since the image in the main cave has a canopy of a seven-hooded *nāga* over its head. This could have led him to take it as an idol of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *Tīrthankara*. This need not surprise us for even today it requires a trained eye to distinguish between a Jina and a Buddha image, and even Cunningham committed the same mistake at Khajuraho. The image in the shrine therefore could very well have been that of the Buddha. The only object that may prove to be enigmatic is the seven-hooded cobra over the Buddha's head. But it should be noted in this connection that representations showing *nāga*-hoods over Buddha's head are not wanting in Buddhist art; in fact it is an oft-repeated motif at Nagarjunakonda, one of the most important Buddhist establishments in South India, where we find an exactly similar representation of Buddha in *dhyaṇa-mudrā* and with a seven hooded *nāga* over his head.¹² The seven hoods represent the *nāga* King Mucalinda who, according to a legend, wound himself round the body of the *Tathāgata* to protect him from storm.

The foregoing discussion amply establishes the possibility of Karakaṇḍa's worshipping a Buddha image by mistake and later still, when he became conscious of it, his attempt at the conversion of that image into that of a Jina. The best possible course for him was to remove the *dharmā-cakra* on the throne and he did it as is so eloquently borne out by the evidence from the *Bṛhat-kāthakośa*. The King might have further caused to adorn the image with painting and in that case the first layer of the horrid plaster and paint that is now visible on the image can be said to have been given by Karakaṇḍa. All this evidence makes it amply clear that the cave was originally a Buddhist shrine of the fifth century A.D. and that it was later converted into a Jaina shrine sometime about the ninth-tenth centuries when Jainism was widespread in Mahārāṣṭra on account of the royal patronage of the Silaharas.

12. A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunikonda, Madras Presidency*, MASI, No. 54, (Delhi, 1938), p. 62, Pl. XXIII, B.

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TOWARDS THE INTEGRATION OF INDIAN STATES, 1919 TO 1947: By Urmila Phadnis, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968; p. VII + 297, XIV Appendices, Bibliography and Index. Price Rs. 25/-.

Prior to 1947, the paramount power in India was with the British Government which exercised direct jurisdiction over a large area in India, in addition to controlling, through its political department, 652 Indian states, covering nearly 45% of the territory of pre-partitioned India and having about 24% of the population. The Indian states had entered into various agreements, commercial, economic and financial, with the British Government with a guarantee of certain rights and privileges to the rulers. The political supremacy of the British was secured through either wars or diplomacy, with those rulers, who, nominally owing allegiance to the Moghul Emperor, virtually became independent, under the weak successors of the Emperor Aurangzeb. In the absence of a uniform pattern of treaties with the rulers, owing to varying policies adopted like Ring-Fence policy, Policy of Subsidiary Alliances, Doctrine of lapse and open war with the defying states, the problem of relationship with the states grew complex. The rulers were obsessed with the idea of their distinct identity which they claimed as a historical right and it was no easy task for the British or for the Indian leaders to fit them into the mainstream of the national polity.

The author Urmila Phadnis has gone into the various sources like the White Paper on Indian States, the report of the States Peoples Conferences, proceedings of the Chamber of Princes, unpublished documents in the National Archives and has sketched in detail the various stages in the history of the states during the period chosen. The inauguration of the Chamber of Princes by a Royal Proclamation on the 8th February 1921 marks a distinct stage in the series of moves towards integration. The Standing Committee of the Chamber, headed by the Chancellor, played a significant part in regulating and clarifying points of issue between the States and the British Government in India represented by

the Viceröys whose work as intermediaries was at times a painful duty. The Butler Committee's report, RTC discussions, and the proceedings of the Indian National Congress paved the way for a federal scheme, though some major states, represented by the legal and constitutional advisers favoured a confederation. The rise of the popular movements in the states modelled upon the activities of the Indian National Congress in British India and the reports of the All India States Peoples Conference led to the federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935.

The Attachment Act of 1944 integrated the number of very small Zamindari states with some big provincial states. With the partition plan taking shape, thanks to the persistent demand of Janab Jinnah, based on the Two Nation theory, it became a complicated process to assess the scope of the Instrument of Accession and the successor to the paramount power in India after the British withdrew from India. At every stage the states sought to obstruct integration though, before August 1947, almost all the states, except Kashmir and Hyderabad, had acceded either to India or to Pakistan. Kashmir entered into a stand-still agreement with both India and Pakistan. Thus "the stage was now set for the final phases of integration which, in reality, was a logical sequence of the events traced hitherto." (P. 197).

In the 12 chapters the details are presented in a cogent and methodical manner with a wealth of information, taken also from unpublished documents, which are truly revealing in their nature. The bibliography alone covers 41 pages. Such an exhaustive treatment of a subject of vital political interest, involving complicated administrative issues and their presentation in a lucid language is really creditable to the author.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE—BRITAIN AND INDIA 1757-1813: by P. J. Marshall, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1968. Pp. XIV & 225, Price 35 S. net.

This is a book in the series, "Historical Problems: Studies and Documents", Edited by Prof. G. R. Elton of the University of Cambridge. It contains an Introduction (pp. 15-104) followed by

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the texts of forty-five documents, beginning with "The Petition of the City of London against Lort North's Regulating Act, 28 May, 1773", and ending in the "Charter Act of 1813".

The Introduction deals in four different sections with the problems, unprecedented in their scale and their complexity, by the transformation of the East India Company, in a little over fifty years, from a body of traders into the rulers of province with a population of fifty to sixty million inhabitants. The problems are considered from the point of view of the British authority at home and not of the administrative policy of the British in India. As the author very aptly remarks, the book seeks to describe what men in Britain believed ought to be done in India, which was often a very different thing from what men in India actually did. Thus he approaches Indian history during the British period from an angle altogether different from what is generally found in text books on the subject. The author has shown great ability and critical acumen in analysing the different trends of British policy at different times and even among different groups at one and the same time. It is interesting to note that as during the period under review the British nation or Government was not responsible for the policy followed by the British rulers in India, British statesmen did not hesitate to openly proclaim their views about the misrule in India and the consequent sufferings of the people. Thus we read: 'The evidence that India was being misgoverned in the decades after Plassey seemed to be overwhelmingly conclusive. Virtually everything that was published about India described the Company's provinces as deteriorating. Many of these accounts were obviously written for partisan purposes . . . But those who had access to official correspondence from India were confronted with repeated testimony, given apparently without ulterior motive, of misgovernment and decay. It is very unusual to find any Company servant who was prepared to claim before the 1780s that British rule had been anything other than a misfortune for Bengal, and accounts from Madras were equally gloomy. Warnings that Bengal 'must moulder into ruin' without 'speedy and effectual measures' were being sent from Calcutta by 1769. Warren Hastings told a Director in 1773 that 'the trade of this country is beyond decay; it is utterly gone'. In 1789 Cornwallis wrote that the population of Bengal was, with a few exceptions, 'advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness' (pp. 59-60).

All these are supported by documentary evidence. There are many other interesting deductions which throw fresh light on the nature of early British rule in India. "Although the situation created by the Company's misrule was thought to be serious, there was general agreement that remedies need not go very deep. Abuses by Europeans must be corrected; but there was no necessity for any attempt to reform Indian society" (p. 60). The Company was not expected to do anything more than to defend the country and maintain internal order. But the Home authorities were unable to put these limitations on their servants in India. "All attempts to reform the Company's government started from the assumptions that peace must be maintained, property secured, and trade encouraged. There was an obvious incongruity in enjoining peace on an organization which appeared to have gained so much by successful war. But all the Company's conquests had in fact taken place without the prior consent of the Court of Directors" (p. 63). The reasons for this are frankly stated in the following words: "When the authorities at home tried to impose their will on a strong-minded Governor General, such as Warren Hastings or Wellesley, both of whom claimed a right to disobey order which they regarded as contrary to the Company's real interests, they usually met with a rebuff. As all Indian reformers with the notable exceptions of Burke and Fox appreciated, there was no practical alternative to entrusting the Governor General with wide discretionary powers" (p. 52). The above would indicate how a student of British Indian history would be able to appreciate his subject better by this frank exposition of the British policy at Home.

The book is a valuable addition to the vast literature on British Indian history. Its printing and get-up are excellent.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

AJMER THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS (1532-1852 A.D.): by S. A. I. Tirmizi, published by Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi, 1968; pages 87 with 35 illustrations; price Rs. 15.00.

During the medieval period of Indian history, the Muslim rulers of Delhi recognised the importance of Ajmer as a place

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through which the trade route to Gujarat passed and from which watch could be kept over Mewar and Marwar.

Early Muslim inscriptions on the Ārḥāi Dīnkī Jhonprā mosque were published by J. Horovitz in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, while a Mughal record on a pavilion of the ruined palace of Jahāngīr was edited by G. Yazdani in *op.cit.*, 1923-24. But most of the inscriptions, throwing light on the history of Ajmer under the Mughals, Rāthods, Marāṭhās and British were edited by Mr. Tirmizi originally in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic and Persians Supplement), 1957-58 and 1958-60, and these have now been republished in the volume under review. The inscriptions included in the volume are nearly three dozens in number, and their decipherment and interpretation are a creditable performance on the part of the author.

Some of the epigraphs contain information of considerable general interest. Thus the inscription on a mosque near the Dargah Bazar records its construction in A.H. 1062 (1652 A.D.) by Bā'ī Tilokdī (Trilokadevī) who is called a female musician and is described as the daughter of Mīān Tānsen. This daughter of the renowned musician at Akbar's court, who bears a Hindu name, was hitherto unknown from any other source. It may be pointed out in this connection that, in the text of the said record in line 4, the date '1063' is a misprint for '1062'. There are a few other misprints here and there in the work. The usefulness of the book could moreover have been enhanced by using diacritical marks in the Perso-Arabic names and words.

We also feel that the author should have said a few words about the early history of Ajmer. It is well known that the name of the city is a modification of Sanskrit *Ajaya-meru* which seems to have been originally the name of a temple of the *meru* class (described in *Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā*) built at the place by the Cāhamāna king Ajaya and later came to be applied to the city around the temple. We know that a *meru*-type temple called *Karṇa-meru* was built at Kāśī by Kalacuri Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.) and another temple of the same name was raised at Pattana (Aṇahila-pattana) by Caulukya Karṇa I (c. 1064-94 A.D.); cf. also the name of Kumbhalameru. See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 282, 964. The Cāhamāna king Ajaya ruled sometime earlier than

1159 A.D. which is the only known date of his son Ajaya. Although no epigraphic record of Ajaya is known, his greatness is indicated by his silver and copper coins of the 'seated goddess' type which are frequently found in Rajasthan and Mathura. The *Prthvirāja-vijaya* not only refers to the many temples and palaces with which king Ajaya beautified the city of Ajayameru, but also states how he ruled the world with his *rūpakas* made of silver (*durvarṇa*) and how his queen Somalekhā used to mint fresh *rūpakas* every day. The same coins were in circulation for many years after Ajaya's death and are called the *drammas* of king Ajaya in the Dhod inscription of Vikrama 1228 (1171 A.D.) of the reign of his grandson Someśvara (1170-77 A.D.). According to another Dhod inscription of Vikrama 1229 (1172 A.D.), king Someśvara was ruling at Ajayameru-durga in the Sapādalakṣa country. Naya-candra-sūri says that the Cāhamana king Hammira (1283-1301 A.D.) of Raṣastambhapura (Ranthambhor) once proceeded, by way of Ajayameru, to Puṣkara where he worshipped the god Adivarāha. See Ray, *op.cit.*, pp. 957 (note 2) 1271, 1082, 1099. In the book under review, the story of Ajmer begins rather abruptly with the conquest of the city by Mu'l-zuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām after defeating Prthvirāja in A.H. 588 (1192 A.D.).

Mr. Tirbizi's work is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian epigraphy.

D. C. SIRCAR.

'CIRE PERDUE CASTING IN SWAMIMALAI' (MADRAS STATE); Monograph No. 4 and Vol. I of census of India, 1961; Office of the Registrar General of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi-11; pp. 76.

The art of metal casting is one of remote antiquity in India; and of the earliest extant examples the most noteworthy are the figurine of a female dancer from the Indus Valley and that of a standing female from Adichanallur in the Tirunelveli District, though the latter is from a stratum not scientifically excavated. From these incipient example has developed the metal art in India which has had a continuous history of development, especially in South India. It reached its meridian under the Cholas and then the

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stage of exhaustion set in resulting in decadence in quality. The interest in these metal images lies not only in their artistic styles and iconographic features but also in the technique of their making. The present publication which is a census report of the Government of India deals with this technique.

The first scientific account of the process of metal casting was brought out by Mrs. Ruth Reeves in 1959. The present publication which has been edited by her is in a sense a sociological study of the problem with particular reference to the metal casting work at Swamimalai. It deals with the historical antecedents of the art, the background and qualifications of the artisans, the articles, designs and decorative motif employed by them, besides the preferences of the consumer. It also provides an account of such details as raw materials, tools and quantum of production, besides the institutions connected with the craft. The book is well illustrated, and is provided with useful sketches and a map of Tamilnad.

This is perhaps the first exhaustive study of the sociological background of the artists involved in the production of pieces which have a global market. This should be the forerunner of similar publications of other traditional arts of no less importance.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

STUDIES IN THE SOCIETY AND ADMINISTRATION OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA, Vol. I—SOCIETY: by D. C. Sircar, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1967; pp. i-ix + 1-321, including an Index of 32 pages and *Addenda et Corrigenda* of 5 pages; price Rs. 25.00.

The work under review is a collection of some of the published papers of Prof. D. C. Sircar who needs no introduction. His previously published works including *The Successors of the Sāta-vāhanas in the Lower Deccan* (Calcutta University, 1939), *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization* (Calcutta University, 2nd ed., 1965) and *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature* (Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1967) are not only authorities on the subjects dealt with in them, but also proofs of Prof. Sircar's great erudition and amazing thoroughness.

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The present work, which is no exception to the above rule, is divided into the following thirteen Chapters—I. Aryanism in Bengal, II. Dravidians in South India, III. Foreigners and Non Aryans, IV. Yavana and Pārasika, V. Tājika, VI. Licchavi and Ambaṣṭha, VII. Andhra and Kārṇāṭa, VIII. Trivedin and Caturvedin, IX. Kāyastha and Kārtāntika, X. *Pañcāṅgula* and *Suravadhūvaraṇa*, XI. *Āmrāpīlikā* and *Avaktavyanāma*, XII. Bride, Widow and Slave, and XIII. Some Great Women.

The author has based his conclusions mainly on epigraphic and numismatic evidence, supplementing and corroborating, where possible, his findings with literary information gathered from the two epics, the Smṛtis and Purāṇas and classical Sanskrit literature. He has also incidentally dealt with the legends of the importation of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas from Kānyakubja in U.P. by the Bengal king Ādiśūra, whose very existence he has doubted, and of the subsequent introduction of Kulinism among the three upper castes of the present day Bengali Hindus, viz. Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas, by the twelfth century Bengal king, Balālasena, which he has disbelieved owing to lack of epigraphic support and which he has attributed to a later fabrication. He has also dispassionately discussed in detail the origin and social position of the Kāyasthas, distributed all over India, basing his views upon epigraphic and literary evidence.

Though Prof. Sircar is a professed scholar in and writer on the history of ancient India, he has brought within the compass of the work under review the social history of Medieval India also, as the very title of the work indicates, in as much as Sanskrit-based history and traditions, recorded in inscriptions and literature, continued till the end of the medieval period, which corresponds to the advent of the Britishers on the Indian soil and subsequent British occupation of India.

This highly learned and useful work, which we commend to all those who are interested in the study of the past social history of our country, bristles unfortunately with palpable printing mistakes, the most glaring of which occurs in the Table of Contents in the title of Chapter XII, which, though it really is 'Bride, Widow and Slave,' has been misprinted as 'Bride, Wife and Slave'.

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA.

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THE REVOLT IN INDIA 1857-58: An Annotated Bibliography of English Language Materials by Janice M. Ladendorf. Published by Inter Documentation Company, A^G Switzerland, 1968, pp. 191.

The authoress has justly drawn attention to (1) the great importance of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, (2) Vast published literature on the subject and (3) the lack of any attempt to "catalog and annotate the immense corpus of Mutiny literature", by way of justification of the present work. She has largely made up for the deficiency and removed a long-felt need by publishing this work. She has collected materials in European language relating to the Mutiny under 990 entries. These include printed books, pamphlets, tourist guides, diaries, etc., articles in Periodicals, collection of clippings from newspapers, as well as documents—printed and manuscripts—both in Government offices and private collections.

The books and articles are classified under different headings according to subject-matter, and in many cases a short review of the nature and value of their contents is added.

An author-index and subject-index considerably enhance the value of the work. The hard work and industry as well as the methodical arrangement of the authoress is really praiseworthy. One may say of the Mutiny of 1857-8 that no educated Indian has ever regarded it without interest and few without prejudice. Some declare it to be the first national war of independence, while others refuse to look upon it as such. There has been a long controversy on the real nature of the outbreak, not only among students of history, but also among members of the public who possess very little knowledge of the subject. This bibliographical work would help to do so, instead of being merely guided by sentiments, preconceptions, and prejudices. The book is a valuable addition to the Mutiny literature and would be welcomed by all students of history.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

'COPPER PLATES OF SYLHET': (Volume) edited by Kāmala-kanta Gupta, Kastaghār, Sylhet, East Pakistan; 1967; pp. 203; price Rs. 10/-.

Srihaṭṭa, the modern Sylhet, is a district in East Pakistan. It was known in ancient times as Chandrapurnshavishaya. Like many regions in India Srihaṭṭa has also yielded a number of historical records. In this book are edited five copper plates of historical interest, namely, the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman, Kālāpur plates of Sāmanta Maruṇḍamātha, Paschimbhāg plates of Śrīchandra, Bhāṭerā plate No. 1 of Govinda Kesavadeva and Bhāṭerā plate No. 2 of Īśānadeva, all relating to the early history of Srihaṭṭa. The Kālāpur and Paschimbhāg plates which are fresh discoveries are discussed here for the first time while the other plates were already known. Chronologically these plates range from the 7th to the 11th centuries and afford useful data for reconstructing the history of the Srihaṭṭa region.

The author Kamalakanta Gupta has also attempted the reconstruction of the genealogy of the Srihaṭṭa rulers on the basis of the Bhāṭerā plates and *Haṭṭanātherapāchali*, a useful manuscript based on traditional accounts. This publication will be found useful to those working on the ancient history of the north-eastern region of undivided India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE ARṢEYABRĀHMAṆA AND THE ṢAḌVIMŚA BRĀHMAṆA: With the Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa—Ed. by B. R. Sarma, Director, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyā Piṭha, Tirupati.

The welcome editorial activities of the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyāpiṭha, Tirupati, find two more striking examples in the neat and well-got up publications under review, viz., the *Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa* (=AB) and the *Ṣaḍvimśa Brāhmaṇa* (=SB). With these volumes the learned editor, Dr. B. R. Sarma, has completed his programme of placing before the interested public reliable texts of six out of the eight Brāhmaṇas of the Kauthuma Śākhā of the Sāma Veda. His reason for omitting from his programme the pub-

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lication of the most famous of the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas, viz., the Tāṇḍyamahā Brāhmaṇa and the Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa is that these latter are already available in fairly good editions prepared a long time ago. The value of the present publications is of course enhanced by the fact that the texts are accompanied by the authoritative commentary on them, the Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa.

Among the notable points mentioned in the critical introductions contributed by the editor is the finding that the date of AB. is found to be relatively late as it is composed in the late *sūtra* style. Plausible also is his contention that the eight or nine Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmavēda are not, in fact distinct works but only eight or nine books of a single large work known as the Mahābrāhmaṇa, or the Prauḍhabrāhmaṇa, identified by the editor with the well-known Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa itself.

The research value of the publications under review is obviously heightened by the critical notes, appendices, and indices included in them. These explain the editor's preferences for particular readings adopted in the texts, set forth the citations in the *byāśya* with their sources, and bring together the technical names of *Sāmagānas*, *grāmageyas*, and *āraṇyakagānas*. Appendix A in the SB. is a useful glossary of obscure words, while appendices B, C, and D give references of Vedic quotations in the text and commentary, of non-vedic quotations, and of the *gānas* based mostly on the stanzas found in the *uttarārcikā*.

The errata furnished in the two books are not exactly exhaustive. The sentence beginning with 'the distinctive character, etc. (P. 17; SB) is both obscure and misspelt. On P. 19, too, the sentence beginning with 'There is indeed a very slender line', etc. is needlessly obscure.

It is indeed good to know that (AB. P. 14) Dr. Sarma is planning to compile a comprehensive concordance of *samans* to stimulate research in the field of Sāmavedic Studies: surely, such a work will form an appropriate climax to Dr. Sarma's long labours as the editor of the majority of Sāmavēda Brāhmaṇas.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

HISTORY OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION, Vol. I, Ancient Period: By B. N. Puri. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpathy, Bombay-7. 1968. Price Rs. 20/-.

The historical evolution, social experiences and political ideals of people are naturally reflected in their constitution. The study of the administrative system, likely to change from time to time, helps one to analyse the forces which have enabled a state to survive the shocks of time. We have some books dealing with the administration of particular places or specific periods in the history of India. Prof. B. N. Puri's attempt to survey the history of Indian Administration, in three volumes, deserves hearty welcome.

This volume, the first in the series, deals with Ancient India. In the Vedic phase the picture is "of a progressive socio-political order which has established itself and was fast extending its dominion." From the Post-Vedic to the Pre-Mauryan period, the information supplied is not of any particular pattern as visualised by the authors of different texts. The Mauryan period inaugurated a regular chapter on administration maintaining integrity in law and order. We have then a new experiment in running administration of a vast political set up, Asoka imparting to it moral and ethical values in his own unique manner. The learned author next deals with the contribution made by the Sungas, Indo-Greeks, Parthians, Sakas and Kushans in the North-Western parts of India. The official hierarchy under the Kushans was retained in administration under the Guptas who stressed on decentralisation. The history of administration in the South is dealt with in three phases. After dealing with the system under Harsha, Pratiharas and Palas the author next deals with the administration of Hindu rulers in South-East Asia, freeing himself from the limitations of time.

We would have welcomed at least a few paragraphs on political thinking and administrative system in peninsular India in the early centuries of the Christian era as far as can be gathered from literary evidence. Divided into eleven chapters, this useful book has successfully realised the particular objective of its author.

P. K. K. MENON

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EARLY SOUTH INDIAN PALAEOGRAPHY: By Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, University of Madras, 1967, pages 1-341, price Rs. 25/-.

It was Col. Colin Mackenzie, the Surveyor-General of the British East India Company in South India who began a study of South Indian Palaeography during the first two decades of the 19th Century. Babington in 1828 prepared a table of letters based on the Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions at Mamallapuram. In 1833 Sir Walter Elliot tackled the problem of earlier forms of the Kannada alphabet and four years later Harkness compiled his *Ancient and Modern alphabets of the popular Hindu Languages of the Southern Peninsula of India*.

But the first systematic work on South Indian Palaeography was done by A. C. Burnell who produced in 1874 a valuable book on the Elements of South Indian Palaeography. In 1896 Buhler brought out in German his famous "Indische Palaeographie" which has become a standard work on Indian Palaeography in general and South Indian Palaeography in particular. Fleet did a great service in translating it into English in Indian Antiquary XXXIII. G. H. Ojha's book in Hindi known as Bharatiya Pracinālipimala published in 1918 contains a short account of the evolution of the scripts of South India. Other important works are: C. Sivarama Murti's Indian Palaeography and South Indian Scripts (1954) and A. H. Dani's Indian Palaeography (1963).

Some sixty label inscriptions in Brahmi were found in the Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirapalli, Coimbatore, North Arcot in the Madras State and Nellore in Andhra Pradesh respectively. Further, inscribed potsherds from the recently excavated site of Uraiyur constitute the raw material to the Palaeographer of South India. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam's Early South Indian Palaeography (1967), the latest publication, deals with these two problems mentioned above comprehensively.

The book contains the following chapters:

Chapter I: Introductory; Chapter II: Origin of Writing in India; Chapter III: (A) Antiquity of Writing in India; (B) Antiquity of Writing in South India; Chapter IV: The Language of the

Brahmi Inscriptions; Chapter V: The Authors of the Inscriptions; Chapter VI: The Brahmi Inscriptions of the Tamil Country.

Each of the first two chapters has an appendix while the sixth, four.

The introductory Chapter including the Appendix covers forty-two pages of the book. This section deals usefully with Hieroglyphs, the Cuneiform system and the Chinese writing. But the inclusion of the Palaeolithic art of Europe has no relevance. Are we to suppose that writing was derived from it? The graffiti on the Chalcolithic and Megalithic pottery may be pictographs (p. 42) in some cases. Most of these marks are certainly post-firing scratchings without any significance. They may be merely decorative in character.

All in all, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam deserves our congratulations for bringing out this valuable publication.

M. SESHADRI

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY, Vol. I, Second Edition: By V. V. Mirashi, Published by Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal, Nagpur, 1968; pages 304 with 4 Plates; price Rs. 30-00.

This volume (Volume I) of MM. Dr. V. V. Mirashi's papers, published in various periodicals, first appeared in 1960, and we are glad to find that it has run into a second edition now.

The book is divided into four Sections, viz. I—Sanskrit Literature; II—Prakrit Literature; III—Ancient Indian History; and IV—Miscellaneous. There are altogether thirtyone papers. Seven of these have been allotted to Section I, five to Section II, fifteen to Section III and four to Section IV.

The Papers included in the volume are well written and form an interesting reading. Some of the author's theories appear to be well reasoned and acceptable. One such is his location of the Rāmagiri mentioned in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta with Ramtek near Nagpur (pp. 12 ff.).

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There are, however, many views expressed in the papers, with which we find it difficult to agree. Thus the suggestion that the *Gāthāsaptasatī* was composed in the age of Candragupta II (p. 101) seems to be doubtful to us, because the stanzas incorporated in the work were composed of different poets apparently at different times. The ascription of the Deotek inscription to the time of Aśoka (p. 134) seems to us extremely doubtful because the form of the *akṣra ci* in line 1 would assign the epigraph to a later date. The reading of the date of a Mathurā image inscription of Kaṇiṣka, which has been read as year 14 by D. R. Sahni and H. Lüders, as 54 (pp. 145 ff.) is certainly wrong in our opinion. We have noted elsewhere that those who have examined an impression of the epigraph have correctly read the date as year 14, and those who have depended on the defective facsimile published by Sahni and Lüders have offered several fanciful readings. The learned author accepts the Rāmagupta story as historical (pp. 167 ff.); but we consider much of it created by the imagination of Viśākhadatta, author of the *Devicandragupta*, as in the case of dramas like Viśākhadatta's *Mudrarākṣasa*, Dvijendralāl Ray's *Candragupta* (Bengali), etc. The 'historical data' collected from the *Daśakumāracarita* (pp. 182 ff.) appear to us to be generally 'unhistorical'. We also find it difficult to accept the view that the territory of the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mānapura was called Kuntala (p. 203) which was no doubt coterminous with Karnāṭa and was the name originally applied to the dominions of the Kadambas of Banavasi and later to the kingdom of the Kannadiga powers like the Cālukyas of Mānykheṭa and Kalyāṇa. In our opinion, Daśapura was the capital of the Aulikara king Ādityavardhana, and the latter's feudatory Gauri could have ruled from that city (p. 224). We do not think it possible to read the date of the Ārang plates of Bhīmasena II as the Gupta year 182, i.e., 501 A.D. (p. 253), the date being certainly the Gupta year 282 (601 A.D.). It seems to us that the name Naimiṣāranya was applied to more than one locality and that one of them was modern Nimsar (cf. pp. 292-93).

In spite of the differences of our views with those of the learned author, we have no hesitation in recommending the work under review to all students of early Indian history.

D. C. SIRCAR.

J. 15

THE SRIRANGAM TEMPLE: ART AND ARCHITECTURE:

By Dr. V. N. Hari Rao; Sri Venkateswara University Historical Series No. 8; published by the Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, 1967; pp. 171; price Rs. 16-50.

The study of South Indian Art and Architecture was started more than hundred years ago, but there are still many gaps in our knowledge of the story of its development through the successive historical periods. Though there are many monuments of considerable antiquity in South India not all of them have been adequately surveyed, nor the surveyed ones fully studied. It is in this context that exhaustive studies have to be made of individual monuments, because only such attempts are capable of bringing to light the archaeological wealth of the temples and their place in the evolution and development of art and architecture in the region.

In this sense the book under review, *The Srirangam Temple: Art and Architecture* by Dr. V. N. Hari Rao is a welcome publication. The book consists of five chapters of which the first is introductory. In this the traditional and literary accounts of the temple are dealt with. The second chapter is devoted to a description of the architecture of the temple. The plan of the temple complex with seven circuits with walls, the central shrine, subsidiary shrines and numerous mandapas and other structures is described at some length. In the next chapter is an account of the sculptural wealth of the temple which is followed by a discussion of iconography of the images installed in it. The fifth and the last chapter deals with some of the interesting festivals and *pujas* in the temple. At the end is a glossary of technical terms used in the text with their meaning. Two useful plans of the temple complex have also been provided.

The book under review which contains an adequate description of the Sri Rangam temple will merit the attention of all scholars, though the treatment is somewhat prosaic. It would have been good if the author had attempted to compare the different structural components of the temple and shown the development of each from earlier ones and the extent to which they anticipated future growth. Dr. Hari Rao could also have made useful comparisons of these components with similar ones in some other temples of the same age. This publication will serve as good reference book for all important details regarding the Srirangam temple.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA: Vol. II.

By Tara Chand. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India; Aug. 15, 1967, pp. IX + 629, including Index, Price Rs. 13-50.

The volume, under review, is the second in the series dealing with a most critical period in the history of India, when, as a result of the direct impact with the Englishmen, the sense of traditional and cultural values, to which the Hindus were clinging with a superstitious zeal, underwent a reactionary change. The period (1800 to 1905) witnessed an era of law and order, in the midst of struggling forces from the princes and chieftains of India, whose warring interests offered a challenge to the Britisher. The Imperialistic aims and the arrogant behaviour of the ruling foreigner created a sense of frustration in the enlightened Indian, both in the fiscal and agricultural fields, ending in the uprising of 1857. The Mutiny was quelled, resulting in the establishment of direct rule over India by the British Crown. When the English language became the medium of instruction, a middle class of Indian literates arose, which criticised aspects of British administration, which shattered the economy and industry of India to the advantage of Britain, by the policy of Imperial preference and differential tariff rates. The mounting military expenditure, consequent upon wars with neighbouring countries like Afghanistan and Nepal was added on to India's debts, a burden which raised legitimately a strong protest from the Indians. A class of informed people arose, led by eminent philanthropists from all communities of India, to challenge the anti-Indian motives of the foreign ruler, who shunned the Indian public and its interests as too opposed to its sense of culture and reason. The high-handed acts of some of the Viceroys like Lytton and Curzon, the much-discussed Ilbert Bill, the Partition of Bengal and the Vernacular Press Act to muzzle native newspapers, created a very strong reaction resulting in the setting up of a number of organizations like the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to protest against the actions of the rulers. Things came to a head, on account of a repeated disregard for Indian representation, when, such enlightened people as Gokhale, Ranade, and Tilak, organized movements against the rulers. Thus was born the Indian National Congress in 1885, on account of the supreme lead given by Allan Octavian Hume, who had retired from civil

service in 1882. He felt that "Pax-Britannica had failed to solve the economic problem, that the peasantry was ravaged by famine and despair, that the then government was dangerously out of touch with the people and that there was no recognised channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled, no constitutional means of keeping the Government informed of Indian needs and opinion" (page 547). He warned Lord Northbrook of the paralysis that was coming over the British Dominion. The language papers, which had by then become numerous, set forth the feelings of the public about the poverty of the masses, of the stifling of local industry and about the recurring famines, which were the outcome of the exploitation of the government. The rulers devised the divide and rule policy to create an artificial wedge between the Hindus and Muslims by playing one against the other and gaining their end. When that was exposed to the view of the people, the end of the foreign rule was foreshadowed. The crumbs offered as Local Self-Government and limited electoral system of representation failed to satisfy the needs of the masses. In fact most of the Viceroys played upon the Commoner in Britain by proclaiming that the few crying and vociferous Indians did not represent the uncultured and superstitious masses of India.

This book contains sixteen chapters dealing with the causes of discontent against British rule in India, the uprising in the several provinces prior to 1857, like the Santhol, Kol, Khond, and Khasi risings, the events leading to the Mutiny of 1857, and the consequent change in the attitude of the ruler towards the ruled. As a result of the new educational policy "the axe was laid at the root of ancient learning and ancient culture; the influence that produced the sublime in Hindu civilization vanished, the influence which produced the superstitious and the ridiculous in it increased" (p. 170). The Christian missionaries, with their proselytising fervour, added to the discontent in the land. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati and others arose with their appeal embodied in their own newspapers. Trends of Muslim religious and political thought have also been included in the book. In fact the life history of all great politicians, literary and religious teachers has been sketched in full. The literary renaissance, with the upsurge of Bengali, Marathi, Urdu and Dravidian language output is also described. The fiscal and economic

background leading to the formation of the Indian National Congress and its growth under various outstanding leaders are outlined with a wealth of objective detail, rarely to be found in other sources. Select statements from the various leaders are reproduced to support the statements made.

The author has ably covered the entire field by gathering facts from all the available sources in a comprehensive manner and has represented them in a language as apt as it is appealing. The book is priced low so as to be within easy reach of all readers.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

SECULARISM IN INDIA: Edited by V. K. Sinha, Lalvani Publishing House, Bombay, 1968. Pp. XX + 212. Price Rs. 21/-.

This is a collection of twenty-four essays, dealing with various aspects of 'Secularism' with special reference to their prevalence in India. Naturally, attention of most, if not all the writers, is centred on the two fundamental problems — (1) What is the exact significance of Secularism and (2) whether, and if so how far, there is secularism in modern India. It is interesting to note that on both these points opinions differ most widely. Of course, the second point depends almost entirely on the first, and it is therefore proper to begin with it.

A. B. Shah, who begins the series, accepts the meaning of Secularism given in the dictionaries. "According to the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* 'Secularism' means (1) 'the doctrine that morality should be based solely on regard to the well-being of mankind in the present life, to the exclusion of all considerations drawn from belief in God or in a future state' and (2) 'the view that national education should be purely secular (1872) Chamber's dictionary defines 'Secularism' as (3) 'the belief that the state, morals, education, etc. should be independent of religion'. (P. 1). On the other hand, M. N. Roy interprets it as 'total absence of religion as a formative force in social and individual life', (p. 145). It has been stressed by many writers that the popular conception in India, supported by practice if not in theory by both the people

and the Government of India (even of Nehru the founder of the Secular State) equates secularism more or less with absence of communalism. But M. N. Roy enters an emphatic protest against it. To Roy a non-communal state was not a secular state. He believed that the secular state must afford its citizens not "the freedom to choose from among various religious doctrines, but the freedom of the human spirit from the tyranny of them." Roy was convinced that such a state cannot be established in the society which is characterized by ignorance, blind faith and prejudice. In this religious atmosphere a secular state is a misnomer; it can only mean "a fraudulent means for a monopoly of secular power." (P. 145).

In an article written as far back as 1948, and reproduced in this book (pp. 148-159), Mr. Roy has severely denounced the policy of the Congress, and has shown, with marvellous foresight, how in the name of Secularism the Congress has pursued a contrary policy and has virtually established a dictatorship. He first points out how "the Congress has attained its present position in the country by exploiting the religious sentiments and prejudices of the backward masses." He then continues:

"Having attained political influence and power with the questionable means, Congressmen are pursuing the policy of fostering those prejudices because, in an atmosphere of cultural backwardness and blind faith their position will be secure. In that atmosphere, a State may be constitutionally secular, but actually it is more likely to be authoritarian than democratic. In that atmosphere, a virtual dictatorship can be established behind the façade of formal democracy. The people will vote as the party in power wants, if it systematically panders to their prejudices, and poses as the defenders of faith and religiosity" (pp. 150-51). Few will have the hardihood to deny that this prediction, made more than twenty years ago, has proved to be wonderfully true, if we consider the political history of India during the period between 1948 and 1968, in an unbiased spirit.

Though other writers have not gone so far, most of them have sought to prove, by facts and arguments, that secularism in India, even in the most limited sense of the term, is more a sham than a reality. Thus one writer says: "The Indian conception of secu-

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larism only requires that there shall be no state religion and that the state shall treat all religions equally. It does not, however, prevent the state from giving financial assistance to educational institutions sponsored by the church or chief religious associations. Equally, the state reserves to itself, and has sometimes exercised, the right to interfere in the religious practices of various communities in the interests of their peaceful co-existence and cultural development. Further, the Constitution contains a special clause enunciating the banning of cow-slaughter as a desirable policy to be implemented by the constituent States for the Union. Consequently, secularism in India means something essentially different from what it means in the U.S." (p. 1). It has been pointed out that secularism in India is confused with protection of religious minorities (specially Muslims) and "it is this over-emphasis on the 'protection' of minorities which has led the Indian state, for instance, to be chary of bringing any social reform affecting non-Hindu religious principles even if the secular principles demand their introduction. Thus there has been hardly any reform of Muslim law since independence", (pp. 41-2). A pointed reference has been made by several writers to the codification of Hindu Law leaving the Muslim personal laws altogether untouched.

It has been rightly argued that the real test of secularism is not whether there is any official religion, but the extent to which religion influences public policy. Many writers have no difficulty in pointing out how greatly both the people and the Government of India are influenced by religion in formulating public policy. "The provision for banning cow-slaughter has already been mentioned. One frequently reads about the participation of state representatives in religious functions. The state sponsors celebrations of religious occasions such as the 2500th anniversary of Lord Buddha and the birth centenary of Swami Vivekanand. The first Head of the State used to participate in religious functions like the Kumbha Mela without bothering to emphasize that he was doing so in his personal capacity. At lower levels, state governments have authorised their local representatives to ban in the interests of law and order, the playing of the band when the procession passes by a mosque and the slaughter of animals or the sale of meat on certain days looked upon as sacred by the Hindus" (pp. 2-3).

Many writers justly feel that secular state is impossible where the whole life of the people, both Hindus and Muslims, is dominated by religion whereas "in order that India should develop as a secular society it is necessary that her people adopt a secular approach to ethics in the place of morality based on religion" (p. 5). The situation is rendered almost hopeless, from the point of view of secularisation, by the fact that India — at least the Congress party which wields the political authority — looks upon Gandhi as the fountain source of nationalism. For, "Gandhi's nationalism was not rooted in secularism... His appeal to Indians was basically founded on the religious impulses of the people. He wielded influence more as a saint, a *mahatma*, than as a political leader" (pp. 18-9). If such a great difficulty hinders the growth of secularism in modern India, "it is an exercise in futility to attempt to discover strong roots for Indian secularism in her past. A tradition-bound, caste-ridden and authoritarian society unwilling to make a breach with the past does not provide a nourishing soil for secularism to strike roots" (p. 20). To suggest that in order to secularize the state the people should give up the religious principles and conventions is a tall order, and perhaps 90 p.c. of the Hindus and Muslims — if not more — would look upon it as something like curing the headache by simply removing the head. It is not difficult to predict that as real democracy advances in India, popular control increases in reality, secularism will necessarily decline.

Some European contributors have discussed the specific socio-cultural conditions which facilitate or inhibit the formation of a secular state, and one of them has found that four out of the five conditions favour the Secular State in India. One of these is "in difference to history", which, in his opinion would make the Secular State more acceptable (p. 194). He is blissfully ignorant of the fact that the historical facts regarding the Hindu-Muslim relations in the past have formed the greatest obstacle to a non-communal state in India in the past and will ever operate as the strongest inhibiting factor against it, on which alone a secular state depends for its growth and development. His knowledge of other factors is equally poor.

On the whole the book has done a great service by holding out before the world the true picture of the so-called secular state of

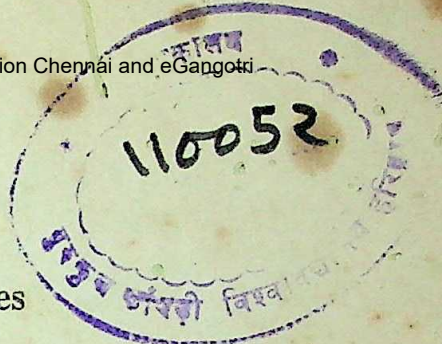
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India which is being trumpeted abroad by interested political parties, and pointing out the almost insurmountable inherent difficulty of making India both democratic and a secular state in the real sense of the term. It is one of the many unfortunate legacies of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's idealism, divorced from the reality, for which India has paid dearly in the past and may have to pay still more dearly in future.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

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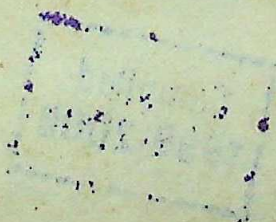
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